

*from S.B.
Christmas 1918*

S. BERNARDINO OF SIENA



THE YHS MONOGRAM AS DEVISED BY S. BERNARDINO

(See description on pp. 158, 159)

S. BERNARDINO OF SIENA

BY
A. G. FERRERS HOWELL

WITH A CHAPTER ON S. BERNARDINO IN ART BY
JULIA CARTWRIGHT (MRS. ADY)
AND SIXTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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First Published in 1913

P R E F A C E

THE famous preacher S. Bernardino of Siena was the most prominent figure in the religious life of Italy during the early Renaissance, and was also the chief instrument in restoring, through the Strict Observance movement, the purity of the Franciscan Order, of which he may be styled the Second Founder. This book is an attempt to portray the man, and his achievements in both these characters. Since the appearance in 1896 of the Life of S. Bernardino by that eminent man of letters the late M. Paul Thureau-Dangin, a great deal of fresh information concerning the Saint has been brought to light, which is here for the first time made available for the English reader. The present volume also embodies the results of a complete examination of the large number of documents relating to S. Bernardino preserved in the R. Archivio di Stato at Siena, and of a careful study of the important writings of his opponent, Fr. Andrea de' Bigli, in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. These sources have never been fully utilized before. In the case of the former, I am under the most particular obligations to that learned and distinguished writer, Cav. Dott. Narciso Mengozzi, who not only placed at my disposal the fruits of his own previous researches, but was of essential service to me in the prosecution of mine; and I gladly take this opportunity to offer him those due and heartfelt thanks which I could hardly persuade him to receive from me in person. From Comm. Lisini, the

learned director of the above-named Archivio and his able assistants, as well as from the officials in charge of the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena, and the Rev. Fathers of the Ambrosiana at Milan I also received the most courteous attention, and gladly return them my best thanks for their kindness. In the writing of this book I have also enjoyed the advantage of the constant help, advice, and criticism of Mr. William Heywood, whose name as an authority on mediaeval Italy is as well known in that country as in this. For his kind assistance, rendered in ways too various to particularize, I am quite unable to express my gratitude in any adequate manner. I am indebted to my wife for the drawing and colouring (according to S. Bernardino's directions) of the Y H S Monogram reproduced as the frontispiece, and to my niece Miss F. C. Biddulph for the photographs of a friar of the Strict Observance and the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala facing pages 60, 90.

A few words about the plan and contents of the book may be conveniently added here. I soon found that it was absolutely necessary, in order to make S. Bernardino's life and work intelligible, to relate in some detail the story of the origin and progress of the Strict Observance movement within the Franciscan Order; both because this subject has been very inadequately handled by the Saint's biographers, and because there are, so far as I am aware, no English books dealing with it. This, accordingly, is the theme of the first chapter, entitled "From S. Francis to S. Bernardino"; and I have there carried the narrative of the movement down to the death of the Saint in 1444, and included in it that part of his biography which concerns his doings as Vicar-general over the Observant friars in Italy from 1438 till 1442. The rest of his life-story is contained in chapter II. An account of the fifteenth century bio-

graphies of the Saint, the primary sources of our knowledge of his life, will be found in Appendix I.

In my account of the works of S. Bernardino in chapters III. and IV. I have discussed as fully as the space at my disposal allowed, not only the vernacular sermons of which authentic reports have come down to us, but the numerous and elaborate sermon-treatises in Latin on which the Saint's renown as a theologian is based.

Lastly, in chapter V., Mrs. Ady has treated comprehensively of the new and attractive subject of S. Bernardino in Art.

A. G. F. H.

August, 1913.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
MEMORANDUM OF ABBREVIATIONS	xiii

CHAPTERS

I. FROM S. FRANCIS TO S. BERNARDINO	I
II. THE LIFE OF S. BERNARDINO	83
III. THE SERMONS OF S. BERNARDINO	218
IV. THE MINOR WORKS OF S. BERNARDINO	304
V. S. BERNARDINO IN ART [BY JULIA CARTWRIGHT (MRS. ADY)]	326

APPENDICES

I. THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY BIOGRAPHIES OF S. BERNARDINO	350
II. ON THE DATES OF THE COMPOSITION OF S. BERNARDINO'S SERMONS	354
III. PASSAGES FROM S. BERNARDINO'S WRITINGS TENDING TO SHOW THAT HE HAD SOME KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK	357
IV. UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM FR. ANDREA DE' BIGLI TO S. BERNARDINO	358
V. LETTER FROM S. BERNARDINO PRESERVED AMONG THE RELICS AT THE CHURCH OF LA Verna	360
INDEX	361

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
THE Y H S MONOGRAM AS DEVISED BY S. BERNARDINO . <i>Frontispiece</i>	.
A FRIAR OF THE STRICT OBSERVANCE	60
PORTRAIT OF S. BERNARDINO. By Sano di Pietro, in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena	84
<i>From a Photograph by Lombardi, Siena (No. 512).</i>	
HOSPITAL OF S. MARIA DELLA SCALA, SIENA	90
S. BERNARDINO AND S. ANTONY OF PADUA. By Andrea Mantegna, at the Basilica of Il Santo, Padua	126
<i>From a Photograph by Anderson, Rome.</i>	
S. BERNARDINO HEALING A BOY GORED BY A BULL. By Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, in the Pinacoteca Vannucci, Perugia	134
<i>From a Photograph by Alinari, Florence.</i>	
THE DESTRUCTION OF FONTE TENTA. (Predella of the Picture of the Madonna protecting the Magistrates of Arezzo. By Neri di Bicci, in the Pinacoteca at Arezzo)	140
<i>From a Photograph by Alinari, Florence.</i>	
FACSIMILE OF AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM S. BERNARDINO TO FRANCESCO MARCHI. (Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, Cod. T. III, 3)	170
THE BURIAL OF S. BERNARDINO. By Bernardino Pintoricchio, in the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome	208
<i>From a Photograph by Brogi, Florence.</i>	
HEAD OF S. BERNARDINO. By Lorenzo Vecchietta, in the Palazzo Palmieri-Nuti, Siena	218
<i>From a Photograph by Lombardi, Siena (No. 2853).</i>	

	FACING PAGE
THE PIAZZA DEL CAMPO, SIENA	280
<i>From a Photograph by Lombardi, Siena (No. 497).</i>	
PORTRAIT OF S. BERNARDINO. By Pietro di Giovanni Ambossi, in the Convent of L'Osservanza, Siena . .	328
<i>From a Photograph by Lombardi, Siena (No. 2925).</i>	
S. BERNARDINO PREACHING OUTSIDE THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO, SIENA. By Sano di Pietro, in the Chapter-house of the Cathedral, Siena	330
<i>From a Photograph by Alinari, Florence.</i>	
ALTAR-PIECE. By Parri Spinello and Andrea della Robbia, at S. Maria delle Grazie, Arezzo	334
<i>From a Photograph by Alinari, Florence.</i>	
S. BERNARDINO IN GLORY. From the Front of the Oratory of S. Bernardino at Perugia, by Agostino Duccio . .	342
<i>From a Photograph by Alinari, Florence.</i>	
THE GLORIFICATION OF S. BERNARDINO. By Bernardino Pintoricchio, in the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome	348
<i>From a Photograph by Brogi, Florence.</i>	

MEMORANDUM OF ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TITLES OF BOOKS
AND PERIODICALS FREQUENTLY CITED IN THIS WORK.

- AA. SS. = "Acta Sanctorum"; Martii III and Maii IV, VI; Venice, 1740; Octobris X, Brussels, 1861.
- A.B. = "Analecta Bollandiana"; Brussels.
- A.F. = "Analecta Franciscana, seu Chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia," edita a patribus Collegii S. Bonaventuræ; Quaracchi, presso Firenze.
- A.F.H. = "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum"; Quaracchi.
- Al. = F. Alessio, "Storia di S. Bernardino da Siena e del suo tempo"; Mondovì, 1899.
- Amadio = Padre Amadio Maria da Venezia, "Vita di S. Bernardino da Siena," Venice, 1744; Siena, 1854.
- Archiv = "Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters," herausgegeben von H. Denifle und F. Ehrle, Berlin, Weidmann, 1885-7; Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1888.
- 1 Celano, 2 Celano = P. Eduardus Alenconiensis, "S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula, auctore Fr. Thoma de Celano," Rome, Desclée, Lefebvre et Soc. 1906; and "The Lives of S. Francis of Assisi by Brother Thomas of Celano," translated by A. G. Ferrers Howell; London, Methuen & Co., 1908. (The references are to the numbered paragraphs in the original and the translation cited.)
- Hefele = Dr. Karl Hefele, "Der Hl. Bernhardin von Siena und die Franzischkanische Wanderpredigt in Italien während des xv Jahrhunderts"; Freiburg im Breisgau, 1912.
- M. & D. = Martène and Durand, "Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum amplissima collectio"; Paris, 1724.
- M.F. = "Miscellanea Francescana," ed. D. Michele Faloci Pulignani; Foligno, 1886-1912.

- Olmi = G. Olmi, "L'Apostolo d'Italia nel secolo XIV, ossia, Vita popolare di S. Bernardino da Siena"; Siena, 1888.
- Opera, or Opera S.B. = "S. Bernardini Senensis Opera Omnia," ed. J. De la Haye; Venice, 1745. (This is the latest edition of S. Bernardino's Latin works. The earlier editions are those printed at Venice, 1591, Paris, 1636, and Lyons, 1650. All are now extremely rare.)
- Pred. Volg. = Luciano Banchi, "Le Prediche Volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena"; Siena, 1880-88.
- Ronzoni = D. Domenico Ronzoni, "L'eloquenza di S. Bernardino da Siena e della sua scuola"; Siena, 1899.
- Vita ex Surio = The "Vita S. Bernardini" in Laurentius Surius, "Historiae seu Vitae Sanctorum," V, 618-59, Turin, 1876; also in vol. I of "Opera S.B." (See below Appendix I, p. 351.) (Surius' "Historiæ" first appeared in 1570).
- Wadding = Lucas Wadding, "Annales Minorum," 2nd ed.; Rome, 1731-45.

CORRIGENDUM

THE statement on page 41 that William of Ockham "had had a hand in the protests of the Perugian Chapter" needs correction. Dr. Johannes Hofer in his valuable "Biographische Studien über Wilhelm von Ockham," now appearing in the "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum" (Ann. vi, pp. 439 ff.) gives good reasons for believing that it was not till near six years later, in 1328, that Ockham took any active part in opposing the decretals of Pope John XXII.

S. BERNARDINO OF SIENA

CHAPTER I

FROM S. FRANCIS TO S. BERNARDINO

VEN before the end of its great Founder's life, the condition of the Franciscan Order had undergone a profound change. The little band who had sheltered in hovels round the tiny chapel of Portiuncula near Assisi had become a vast and rather unruly host. The mere increase in their numbers had made large convents necessary, at least in populous places, however S. Francis might dislike them ; and in any case the stern life of renunciation which he had lived was beyond the strength of a multitude to endure. Moreover the many learned men who entered the Order in S. Francis's later years and afterwards, greatly altered its character. Such men, intent on the study of theological problems, and entering with ardour into the discussions which illuminated the golden age of the Scholastic philosophy, could not afford to spend their time in tending lepers and begging their bread from door to door, as S. Francis and his first companions had done. Cardinal Ugolino, who at the Saint's own request had been appointed Protector of the Order, perceived, as has been well said, that the new fabric was built on an insecure foundation ; and if he aimed lower than S. Francis, his reasoning was sounder. Accordingly his policy, both before and after his accession to the Papacy in 1227 as Gregory IX, was based, not on a visionary ideal, but on the actual state of things ; and

was directed to the welding of the Order into a powerful organization for the support of the Church.

But before reviewing the great struggle, which lasted for about 100 years after S. Francis's death, between the Zealots or Spirituals, who clung to the Saint's ideal, and the Conventuals, as the main body of the friars were called, we must turn our eyes back to the strange figure of the Abbot Joachim (1168-1202) who may be termed the evil genius of the Franciscan Order. He was born in Calabria, and after travelling about in Palestine, purposed to devote himself to preaching ; but finally became a Cistercian monk and spent the rest of his life in biblical study, and in the production of a remarkable scheme of apocalyptic exposition of which a brief outline will presently be given. He gathered a band of disciples round him, founded an abbey at Fiore in Calabria, and a new Order (the Florensan) which was approved by Pope Celestine III in 1196 : at Fiore he died in 1202.¹ His chief undoubted works are : (1) "Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti," (2) "Apocalypsis Nova," or Commentary on the Apocalypse with two Introductions, (3) "Psalterium Decem Chordarum," or Ten-stringed Psalter.² Though in the scheme of world-history deduced by Joachim from the Bible and expounded in these writings there is a good deal of confusion and obscurity in the details, and the main theme is overlaid

¹ For further details concerning Joachim see Tocco, "L'eresia nel medio evo" (Florence, 1884), pp. 263 ff., Fournier, "Études sur Joachim de Flore" (Paris, 1909), and E. G. Gardner, "Joachim of Flora" in "Franciscan Essays" (Aberdeen University Press, 1912), 50 ff.

² For an account of the MSS. of these and other works of Joachim, also probably genuine, see Denifle, "Das Evangelium Aeternum und die Commission zu Anagni" in "Archiv," I, 91 ff. ; also Huck, "Ubertin von Casale," 74 ff. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903). The "Concordia" was printed at Venice in 1519, and the "Apocalypse" and "Psalterium" in 1527.

with a bewildering complication of allegory, yet his fundamental idea is simple enough. It is, that there are three Epochs in the history of the world from the Creation to the Last Judgment during which the world is under the successive special government of the three Persons of the Trinity, each Epoch being marked by its own characteristics, and each forming a stage in the progress of the world toward the final consummation of all things. The scheme is most easily grasped when set out in tabular form, as thus :—

First Epoch	Adam		Second Epoch
	Abraham		
	Ozias (Uzziah)		
	Christ		
Third Epoch	S. Benedict		Second Epoch
	A.D. 1200 (Joachim)		
	A.D. 1260		
	A.D. 1260		
	The End of the World		

The Epochs overlap, because during the first Epoch the time of preparation for the second had already begun,¹ starting from the time of Ozias, whose transgression marked the beginning of the Order of Priesthood ; and similarly the preparatory period for the third Epoch started with S. Benedict (the founder of Monasticism) ; and the period of fulfilment, or "fructification," begun in the time of Joachim himself, was to attain its completion in or about 1260, and was to continue till the end of the world ; the concluding years of the second Epoch (1200-60) being signalized by wars and various calamities, especially the coming of Antichrist. Joachim arrived at the date of 1260 by an elaborate computation of the

¹ In the first Epoch the preparatory period lasted from Adam to Abraham, when the time of "fructification" began and continued till the coming of Christ. See passage from "Concordia" quoted in Tocco, "L'eresia," 375, n. 1.

number of generations from Adam downward (see Tocco, op. cit., 334-52), but he expressly states that it is merely approximate, and that it is not his business to "know or to tell the number of the days" (*ib.*, 295, n. 1). The first Epoch¹ was that of the government of the Father; the second, that of the government of the Son; the third, that of the government of the Holy Ghost. In the first Epoch men lived under the rigour of the Law (Epoch of slavery and fear); in the second, they lived under Grace (Epoch of filial service and of faith); in the third they live under Fullness of Grace (Epoch of liberty and of love). In the first Epoch the Letter (i.e. Scripture) of the Old Testament ruled; in the second, that of the New Testament, while in the third there would be vouchsafed the Spiritual Understanding of the Gospel; and this *Spiritual Understanding* was what Joachim understood by the term Everlasting Gospel (*Evangelium Aeternum*).² The first Epoch was that of Married People; for therein the Levites were married people, begetting children and careful about worldly goods. The second Epoch is that of Priests, for therein the Ministers of the Lord are forbidden, save exceptionally, to marry; but they still live in contact with human society, and with lay-folk, which tends to corrupt them. The third Epoch is that of Monks, for therein the Ministers of the Lord are under strict discipline, caring only for heaven, and passing their lives in prayer and contemplation.

It is astonishing that Joachim's writings did not immediately encounter the Church's condemnation; for a mere glance at the sketch just given of his scheme of

¹ The ensuing explanation is founded on Tocco, op. cit., 374-6, and passages from the "Concordia" there quoted.

² See Denifle in "Archiv," I, 52 ff. Cf. below, p. 11. On S. Bernardino's understanding of the phrase and his attitude towards Joachim see below, ch. III. 233-4; IV. 307-8.

world-history shows how irreconcilable it was with a continuance of the existing Church government. Already the "fructification" of the third Epoch had begun, and, though Joachim said indeed that the Church of Peter "which is the throne of Christ" was not to fail, but to be "transformed into greater glory, and to remain fixed for ever,"¹ yet, since the sole ministers of the New Dispensation were to be an Order of Monks living the life of contemplation, and destined "to rule from sea to sea, and from the River unto the world's end"; the delicate question at once arose, What was to be the function of the Pope in the new order of things, and what place would be found for the manifold activity of the Curia? The difficulty was evidently perceived by Joachim, for he attempted to deal with it, and cast about for a part to assign to the Pope in the Third or Spiritual Epoch. He could think of nothing better than the part of the aged Symeon. "Symeon," he says, "shall as it were take up the child into his arms when Peter's successors (to whom has been given the prerogative of the faith, and discernment between holy and profane) beholding that Order which follows in the footprints of Christ, shall sustain it in spiritual power by the protection of their authority, and confirm it by the words of their testimony, proclaiming that in it the utterances of the Prophets are to be fulfilled."² And again:³ "the Shunamite woman, who was joined to David, but did not conceive by him, shall be a certain new Religion which shall be altogether free and spiritual, wherein the Roman Pontiffs, having secured the peace of the Church, shall be comprised (*se continebunt*)". That is to say, the Pope is to usher in the new Order of Monks and then stand aside, or be absorbed into it. The

¹ "Protocol of the Commission of Anagni," 94b ("Archiv," I, 109, 110).

² "Protocol," cited 95a ("Archiv," I, 111).

³ *Ib.*, 94b ("Archiv," I, 109).

question became still more delicate when the Zealot Franciscans claimed that the Dominicans and themselves, and especially themselves, actually were the new Order foretold by Joachim.

However, in spite of their revolutionary tendency, Joachim's principal writings escaped condemnation, though his reputation for orthodoxy remained precarious, partly because of his misunderstanding of Peter Lombard's exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, which led him to write a treatise against it that was condemned by the Lateran Council of 1215; partly because of the unscrupulous use of his name made by the Franciscan Zealots.¹ It is important as well as interesting to note that from Joachim we pass direct to the Zealot Franciscans, who seized with avidity on his writings; for there is no trace of Joachism in S. Francis himself. He, with all his leaning to mysticism, had a fund of shrewd common sense that kept him from being beguiled by such a will-o'-the-wisp as Joachim's Antichrist.

The Zealots, not content with Joachim's authentic works, fathered on him a number of spurious works in which, as has been well said, they crossed the t's and dotted the i's of their prototype, and, moreover, distorted his teaching. Thus in the spurious commentary on Jeremiah (which, like the equally spurious commentary on Isaiah was composed by the Zealots in the middle of the thirteenth century), Joachim is made to foretell the coming of *two* Orders, to express the difference in their habit and to speak of the Pope and Cardinals as afflicting the "preachers that do not lie," i.e. the Zealot friars.²

Turning now to the struggle between the Zealots and the Conventuals, it will be well first of all to refer to

¹ Huck, op. cit., 82, 83.

² *Ib.*, 104, n. 1. Cf. Tocco, "L'eresia," 307, n. 1; 450, n. 1. There are, however, passages in Joachim's authentic works from which a vague anticipation on his part of two new Orders might be inferred. See Fournier, op. cit., 44-46, and cf. E. G. Gardner, "Dante and the Mystics" (Dent, 1913), 189-191.

the Rule of S. Francis¹ whereby the friars of his Order were legally bound, and to his Testament, whereby they were morally bound. By the Rule, their life was declared to be the observing of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ by living in obedience, without anything of their own (*sine proprio*), and in chastity. They were strictly enjoined by no means to receive coin or money directly or indirectly (*per se vel per interpositam personam*), and they were forbidden to appropriate to themselves any house, place (i.e. convent), or any other thing. In the Testament, they were bidden to beware of receiving the churches, the poor dwellings, and anything else that was constructed (or, according to another reading, "appointed") for them, unless these buildings were such as befitted the holy poverty they had promised to observe ; and they were to dwell therein *as strangers and pilgrims*. Furthermore they were emphatically commanded never to apply for any letter from the Papal Court on any pretext whatsoever, not even to shelter themselves from persecution.² Finally the friars were most solemnly charged to put no glosses either on the Rule or on the Testament, but to take them "simply and purely, even as the Lord granted me (Francis) to utter and write them simply and purely".

It was round these documents that the controversy was to rage, the Zealots maintaining that they must be observed in literal strictness ; the Conventuals, that such observance was impossible in the actual state of things, and that some relaxation was inevitable. On 28 September, 1230, barely four years after S. Francis's

¹ i.e. The Rule as confirmed by Honorius III on 29 November, 1223. It will be found in "Opuscula S. Francisci" (ed. Quaracchi), pp. 63 ff. The Testament is in the same vol. (77 ff.).

² Papal privileges had already been obtained for the Order in S. Francis's lifetime ("Archiv," III, 570). On the necessity for such privileges, see Ehrle's observations (*ib.*).

death, Pope Gregory IX issued the Bull *Quo elongati a sæculo*¹ which takes the form of a reply to a number of doubtful points concerning the Testament and the Rule which had been submitted to his decision by the Minister-general of the Order (John Parenti) and other delegates from the Chapter-general, in consequence of stormy discussions between the two parties. In the first place, the Pope declared that the Testament was not binding, because it had not been assented to by the friars at large and especially by the Provincial Ministers ; and because in any case S. Francis could not bind his successor. This declaration was essential, for the Pope could not proceed to put glosses on the Rule, or to explain any doubtful points therein, until the Testament had been got out of the way. Next, the Pope declared that the literal observance was only required of those Counsels of the Gospel which were expressed in the Rule either by way of command or of prohibition : the observance of the others in the Spirit would be a sufficient compliance with the obligation to observe the Gospel.²

Next, an expedient was devised whereby in the case of the friars wanting to buy some necessary thing, or to pay for it if already bought, they might do so by the intervention of an agent (*nuncius*) appointed by them, who however was declared to be the agent, not of the friars, but of the person who supplied the purchase money. But it was still proclaimed that the friars might own no property either as a community or as individuals ; and that they were to enjoy the use of the utensils, books, and other movable things that it was lawful for them to have, without prejudice to the rights of the owners to whom the convents and houses

¹ Printed in "Speculum Perfectionis," ed. Sabatier, 314.

² *Respondemus, ad alia consilia evangelii non teneri per Regulam nisi ad ea quæ magis de bono et æquo vos obtulistis holocaustum medulatum per contemptum omnium mundanorum.*

occupied by the friars were known to belong.¹ The movables, the use of which the friars enjoyed, were not to be parted with except by the authority or assent of the Cardinal Protector of the Order conveyed to the Minister-general or the Provincial Ministers. It will be convenient here to state by anticipation that in 1245 Innocent IV issued the Bull *Ordinem vestrum*² whereby the conditions under which purchases might be made through an agent were relaxed, and such purchases were sanctioned not only in the case of things necessary, but of things useful or convenient. It was likewise declared that all property movable or immovable, the use whereof was enjoyed by the friars, was vested in the Holy See (except where the donors had expressly reserved the ownership to themselves). In 1283 Pope Martin IV sanctioned the appointment of officials known as Apostolic Syndics, who were empowered on behalf of the Holy See but under the direction of the Superiors of the Order to receive and administer real and personal property given for the use of the friars, especially property given by will, in order to avoid the necessity of direct recourse to the Pope. This concession was practically abolished by John XXII's Bull *Ad Conditorem* (see below, pp. 39-41).

The issue of the Bull *Quo elongati* was the official confirmation of an accomplished and notorious fact, viz. that it was no longer possible for the Order to run in the track marked out by its founder, and the Bull legalized the mitigations of the Rule that this accomplished fact demanded; but none the less Pope Gregory by this Bull placed the Companions of S. Francis, and those friars who clung with them to the life of absolute poverty that he had lived, in a position of grievous embarrassment and distress; for they had in some sort

¹ See 2 Celano, 59.

² Printed in Wadding, III, 129.

to choose between Christ's Vicar and His Saint ; since the Pope had solemnly pronounced that the last urgent and affectionate entreaties of their dying Father contained in his Testament were not binding on his sons. If they obeyed their conscience, they seemed like rebels against the Head of the Church, toward whom S. Francis had always professed and practised the deepest submission : if they accepted his mitigations of the Rule, they seemed like traitors to the Lady Poverty whom they had espoused. It was only the elect, men like Fr. Giles, and at a later time Fr. Angelo Clareno, who could steer a straight course amid the temptations to rebellion and lawlessness on the one hand, and to laxity and worldliness on the other.

In 1232 Elias became Minister-general, and under his government the Order lost more and more of its primitive character. The convents increased in size and splendour,¹ and large sums of money were raised for the great basilica at Assisi which was building over the Saint's remains. The Zealots for the most part betook themselves to lonely hermitages where they cultivated the Joachite literature in the way I have mentioned, solacing themselves amid the increasing corruption of the Order by the hope of the good time coming when the full fruition of the Epoch of the Spirit, heralded by Antichrist (whom they recognized in the person of the Emperor Frederick II), should renew the Church. The Conventuals, on the other hand, were gathered chiefly in large convents in the towns² and mingled more and more in the public affairs of Church and State : their ample granaries and cellars, spacious vineyards and soft attire proclaiming how far they had strayed from their founder's footsteps.

¹ Interesting details as to this will be found in Eccleston "De Adventu Minorum in Angliam," ed. A. G. Little (Paris, 1909), p. 40.

² Hence the name Conventuals (see Wadding, VIII, p. 327).

About the middle of the century a crisis occurred in the fortunes of the Joachite literature. In 1254 Fr. Gerard of Borgo S. Donnino compiled at Paris a book containing Joachim's three chief works ("Concordia," "Apocalypse Nova," and "Psalterium X Chordarum"), together with an Introduction to the whole ("Introductorius"), and glosses written by himself¹; and to these three works of Joachim he gave the name "*Evangelium Æternum*". It is most important not to confound this sense of "*Evangelium Æternum*" with that attached to it by Joachim himself.² Joachim understood by the term "*Evangelium Æternum*" the teaching which the Holy Ghost would in the coming Epoch of the Spirit elicit from the existing Scriptures and impart to the ministers of the New Dispensation; it was in fact a *spiritual understanding* of the existing Scriptures; but it was not a new Scripture, nor indeed a writing at all. The author of the "Introductorius," on the contrary, understood by the term "*Evangelium Æternum*" the three chief works of Joachim himself: the "*Concordia*" being the first, and the other two the second and third books of the Everlasting Gospel.

It seems probable that Gerard only made public his "Introductorius" and the "*Concordia*" with his glosses thereon; but however this may be, his "*Evangelium Æternum*" raised a great commotion in the University of Paris, where a fierce conflict was already raging between William of Saint Amour, the Rector, and the professors (who belonged to the secular clergy), on the one hand,

¹ According to Salimbene (ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 237, 455), Fr. Gerard was the sole author of the compilation, and Denifle ("Archiv," I, 57-8) is of the same opinion. Tocco ("Archivio Storico Italiano," Ser. IV, t. 17, pp. 243 ff.) is disposed to think that others may have been concerned in it and in particular that John of Parma (at that time Minister-general) had a hand in the "Introductorius" (cf. below, pp. 13, 14).

² Above, p. 4.

and the Mendicant Orders, especially the Dominicans, who were endeavouring to establish their footing there, on the other. William of Saint Amour accordingly took occasion to publish his work "De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum"; and he and his colleagues, besides preaching against the "Evangelium Æternum," compiled a set of thirty-one "errors" consisting of propositions alleged to be taken from the "Introductorius," and of garbled extracts from the "Concordia". These "errors" were put together simply for the purpose of discrediting the Mendicant Orders; and, as the Dominicans were the special objects of the professors' resentment, they actually ascribed the authorship of the "Evangelium Æternum," to them. Indeed Matthew Paris¹ tells us that after the condemnation of the "Evangelium Æternum" (see below) the Pope ordered the book to be burned secretly, so as to save the *Dominicans* from scandal. The Bishop of Paris sent a copy of Gerard's "Introductorius," to Pope Innocent IV in 1254, and in 1255 his successor, Alexander IV, set up a Commission of three Cardinals to examine and report on Gerard's "Introductorius," and the works of Joachim himself. As a basis for the report, Florentius, Bishop of Acre, made a series of extracts from the "Introductorius," Gerard's glosses on the "Concordia," and certain works of Joachim.² The Commissioners verified the extracts by inspection of the originals³. The result of the report was, that the "Introductorius" was condemned by Pope Alexander IV on 23 October, 1255;⁴ and with it were also condemned (under the denomination *quædam scedulae*) the "errors" concocted by William of Saint Amour and his colleagues.

¹ "Chronica Majora," V, 599, 600 (Rolls Series).

² These were the "Concordia," "Apocalypsis Nova," "Enchiridion in Apocalypsin," and the treatise "De Articulis Fidei".

³ See "Protocol," 92a ("Archiv," I, 102). The Commission sat at Anagni.

⁴ "Archiv," I, 87.

The characteristic of Fr. Gerard (assuming him to be the author of the "Introductorius" as well as of the glosses) is to distort the doctrine taught by Joachim and to particularize Joachim's predictions. Thus he compares the Old Testament to the brightness of the stars, the New Testament to that of the moon, and the "Evangelium Æternum" or Gospel of the Holy Ghost to that of the Sun¹. He states that the "Angel having the sign of the living God" (Rev. vii. 2) appeared about the year 1200 and was S. Francis, and that a barefooted Order consisting equally of clerks and lay people was to be the special depositary of the "Evangelium Æternum".² So where Joachim says that "the abomination of desolation shall be in those days" (i.e. the time of Anti-christ), Gerard's gloss is "This abomination will be a false Pope tainted with simony".³ It is not very easy to say what following Gerard had among the Joachite Franciscans. Denifle⁴ considers that he met with little or no support.

Salimbene (at that time a Joachite) in the passages cited above (p. 11) speaks of Gerard with unconcealed contempt, and, after pointing out that Gerard's "Evangelium Æternum" contained many false statements about Joachim's teaching, tells us that Gerard wrote his book at Paris and published it "among ignorant friars". But it is an important and significant fact as tending to show that no less a personage than John of Parma (Minister-general at the time of the publication of Gerard's compilation and of the Commission of Anagni) was a supporter of Gerard, that after John had relinquished his office in 1257, his successor S. Bonaventura instituted proceedings for Joachite opinions (among other charges) first against Gerard and one friar Leonard, both of whom are described as

¹ "Protocol," 91a.

² *Ib.*, 91b.

³ *Ib.*, 94a.

⁴ "Archiv," I, 62-5.

John's companions, and afterwards against John himself. Gerard and Leonard were imprisoned for life; John escaped this hard fate through the intervention of his friend Cardinal Fieschi (afterwards Pope Hadrian V), and was allowed to live in retirement in the hermitage of Greccio.¹ He was a man of saintly life and of singular beauty of character, and there is reason to think that his efforts while Minister-general to bring back something of the ancient spirit and discipline into the Order contributed as much as did his Joachism to bring about his downfall. However this may be, his disappearance from power, coupled with the condemnation of the "Introductorius" was a severe blow to the Zealots, and did much to discredit the Joachite literature.

As Tocco says,² Joachim's predictions had so often been belied by the events that it was impossible any longer to trust them blindly, or to regard his writings as inspired; still, as we shall see, Olivi and his disciples Ubertino of Casale and Angelo Clareno continued to follow Joachim closely, and to interpret Scripture on the lines he had laid down.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century the difference between the parties in the Order became accentuated. In proportion as the Conventuals modelled their life more and more after the pattern of the other Orders, and, with a view to engage in what Ehrle³ calls "a freer apostolic activity," broke loose from the shackles of the Rule, the Zealots clung to it with increasing passion,

¹ See Wadding, IV, 4, 5; "Hist. VII Trib." in "Archiv," II, 283 ff.; and A. F. H., III, 246. The resentment of the Zealots at the action taken by S. Bonaventura against his predecessor is reflected in the offensive introduction of S. Bonaventura into Fr. James of Massa's vision as related in Wadding, IV, 10, and in c. 48 of the "Fioretti," where, however, Bonaventura's name is omitted in some texts. Cf. Sabatier's "Actus B. Francisci," 216, n. 1.

² "Archivio Storico Ital.," S. IV, t. 17, p. 261.

³ "Archiv," II, 437.

which in some of them degenerated into fanaticism and immorality.¹ In Fr. Petrus Johannis Olivi² (1248-98) they found a leader of singular ability, an expert theologian and philosopher, trained at Paris, a man, moreover, of exemplary, even saintly life,³ whose writings systematized their opinions, and in some sort revived the sinking reputation of Joachim. Under his guidance they now maintained that the due observance of the Rule not only implied the absolute renunciation of all *property*, but the restriction of the *use* of the things of this world—food, clothing, lodging—to the minimum required for the sustenance of life; saving only the case of manifest necessity or utility.⁴ The term *usus pauper* (which was employed to designate this way of living) now became the war-cry of the Zealots or Spirituals.⁵

It is to be noted that their position had been greatly strengthened by the issue on 14 August, 1279, by Pope Nicholas III, of the Decretal *Exiit qui seminat*⁶ by which the Rule was authoritatively expounded in a far stricter sense than by the Bulls *Quo elongati* and *Ordinem vestrum*.⁷

¹ It was about this time that they began to be infected by the immoral doctrines and practices of Dolcino in Italy and the Beguins (many of whom belonged to the Third Order of the Franciscans) in Southern France. Cf. below p. 37.

²i.e. Peter, son of John Olivi (or Oliva) (Ehrle, "Archiv," III, 410.)

³ His sanctity was attested by numerous miracles wrought after his death, greatly to the chagrin of the Conventuals who finally desecrated his tomb at Narbonne and outraged the relics of the unorthodox Saint ("Archiv," II, 293; III, 443).

⁴ Thus, riding habitually would be inconsistent with the observance of the Rule, but riding once in case of necessity would not.

⁵ Olivi's exposition of the *usus pauper* will be found in "Archiv," III, 507 ff. He followed the lines laid down by Fr. Hugues de Digne (fl. 1250) in his short treatise "De finibus paupertatis," printed in A. F. H., V, 280 ff.

⁶ "Lib. VI Decretalium," V, tit. 12, c. 3.

⁷ Above, pp. 7-9.

Pope Gregory IX's decision that the Testament was not binding was indeed upheld ; and also his decision as to the obligation to fulfil those Counsels of the Gospel only which were contained "*præceptorie vel inhibitorie*" in the Rule : but with the significant addition that to some other counsels given by the Gospel the friars are more bound than other Christians : while as to the observance of the Rule in general, Pope Nicholas declares that though the friars are only bound by those matters which are introduced *sub verbis obligatoriis*, as to the matters introduced *sub verbis monitoriis, exhortatoriis et instructoriis* it is specially fitting for the friars to attend to them. Moreover (after referring to the Bull *Quo elongati* and to the "*insensata astutia*" of those who condemned the strictest observance of S. Francis's absolute prohibition of property) Pope Nicholas pronounces the absolute renunciation of property whether *in speciali* or *in communi* to be holy and meritorious, *because of the example of Christ and the Apostles*. The enactment of Pope Innocent IV, vesting the property held by the friars in the Holy See, is confirmed ; the friars being declared to have the simple use of it (*usus non iuris sed facti tantummodo nomen habens*) ; i.e. to have no legal right to use the things, but simply using them *de facto* (*usus facti*).

Again as regards the *use* of such things as the friars required for their needs and the due performance of their duties *all superfluity and whatever might derogate from Poverty was expressly forbidden.*¹

The facilities given by Gregory IX and Innocent IV

¹ *Insuper nec utensilia nec alia praeter eorum usum ad necessitatem et officiorum sui status executionem (non enim omnium rerum usum habere debent, ut dictum est) ad ullam superfluitatem, divitias, seu copiam quæ deroget paupertati, vel ad thesaurizationem, vel eo animo ut ea distrahant sive vendant, recipient, nec sub colore providentiae in futurum, nec alia occasione: quinimmo in omnibus appareat in eis quoad dominium omnimoda abdicatio, et in usu necessitas.*

to enable the friars to pay for things they needed to use were practically abrogated, and a fresh measure was introduced the effect of which was, in the case of the friars requiring to supply some need, and alms failing, to remove from a legal to a purely charitable ground the expedient to which they were compelled to resort, viz. to get the thing provided by the intervention of some third party. It was a *bona fide* solution of a real difficulty and not a mere colourable evasion of the Rule. A way was likewise pointed out whereby testators could make bequests to the friars in such a manner that the property should be made available for their needs without any violation of the Rule on their part.

It is hard to believe that S. Francis would have refused his assent to the reasonable and indeed inevitable provisions of this Decretal. The Pope notes in its preamble that he had held frequent converse with some of the Saint's companions touching the Rule and the intention of S. Francis ; he displays throughout the most anxious care to respect that intention to the utmost ; and to do so much, and so much only as was necessary to adapt that intention to the changed circumstances of the time. If only the Conventuals had shown more zeal and the Zealots more discretion in their lives a satisfactory adjustment might have been made between them on the basis of this Decretal, and the terrible scandals of which I shall have to speak might have been averted. But the Conventuals showed no desire to return to the embraces of the Lady Poverty and the Zealots became more and more fanatical under the influence of Olivi, to whom and to whose doctrines we must now return. Since his writings formed the text-books of the Zealots it will be well to give here some specimens of his opinions.¹ It will be easily seen that he is strongly in-

¹ The originals of the passages here referred to will be found in "Archiv," III, 503 ff.

fluenced by the Joachite tradition. The contemplative life, in his view, stands higher than the active ; but where great advantage may accrue to others, it is good to devote a portion of one's time to their salvation, provided an equal portion be still assigned to contemplation.

In the state of fallen nature, virginity is better, absolutely, than marriage ; yet in the Epoch before Christ marriage was better in so far as through it the priesthood, by God's appointment, was perpetuated by carnal generation ; and the priests, "by reason of the singular perfection of mind given them by God were enabled to bear the burden of matrimony without any detriment to their proper perfection".¹

When any who are bound by the vow of evangelic poverty (i.e. the Franciscans) are raised to the Episcopate they are more than ever bound to practise the *usus pauper*; and Olivi strongly intimates that *all* bishops should do the same ; adding some severe remarks on the luxurious life led by the Bishops of that time. If a Friar Minor (he says) raised to the Episcopate led the luxurious and vicious life of the secular Bishops (who, however, are commonly judged to be in a state of salvation) he would be judged to be in a state of damnation ; which thing would nevertheless not be true if he (the friar) were not commonly judged to be bound to greater perfection (than the secular Bishop).

Olivi not only inveighed against the laxity of the Conventuals and the Bishops, but attacked the doctrine of monastic poverty laid down by S. Thomas² who held that while the possession of *individual* wealth is repugnant to the perfection of the Religious life, the possession *in common* of such means as are needful for the simple maintenance of that life according to the circum-

¹ See above, p. 4.

² "Summa Theol." 2 II^{me} q. 188, art. vii. Olivi's attack will be found in "Archiv," III, 519 ff.

stances of the case is not so repugnant. S. Thomas's reasoning is characterized by a breadth of view and a common sense which contrast strongly with the tone of Olivi, whose outlook is bounded by his own narrow theory of the *usus pauper.*

The following passage briefly setting forth Olivi's claim on behalf of the Zealots enables us to appreciate the fury of the Conventuals against him: "Not only through faith, but also by clear understanding of the Holy Scriptures do I hold and know without a cloud of doubt that the Rule of S. Francis and the state of the Friars Minor [i.e. of course, the Zealots] is truly evangelical and apostolic and the end of every other state; in which state and through which state Christ is about to accomplish the more notable of His works, as in the toil and rest of the sixth and the seventh day" ("Archiv," III, 619, n.). We are not surprised to find that Olivi, holding such an exalted opinion of the "state of the Friars Minor" maintained that the Pope had no power of dispensation from the observance of the Gospel Vows (i.e. the vows of the Friars Minor as interpreted by the Zealots). The Pope, he asserted (and here quite rightly) can only validly exercise his dispensing power when the result of such exercise would be the attainment of a higher good than that attained in the state from whose obligations dispensation is sought, or the attainment of a good equally high. But the observance of the Gospel Vows (as understood by the Zealots) was, in Olivi's view, absolutely the life of perfection, being the life of Christ Himself: therefore the Pope cannot dispense from the observance of these vows. And in connexion with this same matter he says:¹ "He who should consider more carefully how that through the life of Christ and the renewal thereof [i.e. in the person of the Zealot Franciscans] about the [time of the]

¹ "Archiv," III, 530.

end of the Church there is brought about the enlightenment (*illustratio*) and exaltation of the Church Universal, and an ineffable opening of the Scriptures, and the destruction of Antichrist and of all the Testaments [*sic*], and the bringing in of the Jews and the consummation of all things—would see more clearly how that the relaxation and obfuscation of this [i.e. the Franciscan] State and Rule is in such-wise pestilent that there ensues thereon the blackening of the whole faith, the bringing in of Antichrist and of all the final temptations, and the dissipation of every perfect good; then indeed he would most certainly perceive that from no man living can one get dispensation [from the Gospel vows]".

The Conventuals, who formed the majority of the Order and acted in obedience to their duly-appointed Superiors, must not be viewed entirely through their opponents' spectacles. Very many of them did indeed deserve the reproaches for laxity which the Zealots showered upon them; but a considerable number of influential men were desirous of conscientiously fulfilling the Rule as mitigated by the Papal decrees already referred to, and, while opposing what they deemed to be the rebellious behaviour of the Zealots, were anxious to prevent any increase of laxity on the part of the Conventuals. The most perfect example of this type of the Conventual friar is undoubtedly S. Bonaventura, who filled the office of Minister-general from 1257 till 1274; and his eminent piety and edifying discourse even extorted the half-contemptuous approval of Olivi.¹ Men of this stamp, however, whose object is moderation and compromise, are not wont to arouse much enthusiasm among their followers; and in this case they proved unable either to control the increasing laxity of their

¹ See Olivi's very interesting estimate of S. Bonaventura's character in "Archiv," III, 516.

own party of the Conventuals or to win back the headstrong followers of Olivi.

Olivi's most conspicuous successors were Angelo Clareno (of whom I shall speak later on), and Ubertino of Casale. Ubertino was born in 1259 and joined the Order at the age of fourteen. He was from the first an enthusiast for the rigour of the Rule; and intercourse with Olivi, whose favourite disciple he was, made of him a mystic after the Joachite pattern. Between 1284 and 1288 he was employed as *Lector* of theology in Tuscany; in 1288 he was sent to preach at Perugia, but, getting into trouble with his Superiors, was forbidden the pulpit; and retired to Mount Alverna, where he wrote his "Arbor vitæ crucifixæ Jesu," a Joachite work in which he attacked the abuses in the Church and in the Franciscan Order from the standpoint of one who viewed the departure from Gospel Poverty (in the Zealots' sense) as the root of all evil in the Church and in the world. While expressing his submission to the Church's teaching, he boldly claimed for Joachim, and for himself also, the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.¹ The book was completed in 1305. After his sojourn at Alverna we find him in the service of Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, who had sided with the Colonna Cardinals in their great struggle against Boniface VIII. Ubertino was now the leader of the Zealots in Tuscany, as distinguished from those in Central and Southern Italy, whose head was Angelo Clareno.² The Zealots of Provence, whose establishment as a distinct group had been the direct work of Olivi,³ were chiefly found in the convents of Narbonne, Béziers, and Carcassonne, though they were also scattered about among the Conventuals

¹ Huck, "Ubertino von Casale," 24. See description of the "Arbor vitæ" in E. Gurney Salter, "Ubertino da Casale," British Society of Franciscan Studies, Extra Series, vol. i.

² See below, p. 30.

³ "Archiv," IV, 29.

elsewhere, by whom they had long been grievously persecuted.

About the year 1309 the tension between the two parties in the Order had become very great, and Pope Clement V determined to try his utmost to effect a settlement of the difficulties. The General Council of Vienne, which met in 1311, had already been convoked in 1308, and it was decided to bring before it the state of affairs in the Franciscan Order. In the meantime a protracted investigation of the question in all its bearings took place before the Pope and Cardinals, among whom it should be noted that James Colonna with the other Italian Cardinals, and even one of the French Cardinals, supported the Zealots.

In 1309 nine representative Zealots of whom Ubertino was one were summoned to appear before the Pope. They were lodged at Avignon in the same convent with their opponents, who treated them so ill that the Pope was obliged to issue a Bull (1 April, 1310) exempting them from the jurisdiction of the Superiors of their Order and placing them, during the investigation, under that of the three Cardinals (*Auditores*) to whom the conduct of the inquiry had been delegated by the Pope. The Papal protection was likewise extended to the adherents of the Zealot representatives throughout the Order ; they were not, indeed, exempted from their Superiors' jurisdiction, but the Bull expressly provided that they should not in any way be prejudiced or punished on account of their opinions ; nor were their opinions to be made an excuse for aggravating any punishment they might otherwise incur.¹ Soon after the issue of this Bull, no less than three of the nine representative Zealots died, and, as was said, by foul play.² Among them was their

¹ Wadding, VI, p. 168.

² "Historia VII Tribulationum" in "Archiv," II, 133. Cf. III, 141; IV, 31.

leader, Raymond Gaufridi (who had been Minister-general from 1289 to 1295); and the leadership now devolved on Ubertino. In the course of the inquiry the long-standing attack on Olivi's writings¹ was resumed by the Conventuals, who charged Ubertino and his colleagues with having obtained the Bull of Exemption by surreptitious means,² and of holding heretical opinions put forth by Olivi. Ubertino, in his answer,³ justified himself by showing that the heretical opinions had been falsely attributed to Olivi; which was the ground consistently taken up by the Zealots throughout.⁴ Nevertheless, four of the heretical opinions on theological points alleged to be contained in Olivi's writings were eventually condemned by the Council of Vienne in the Decree *Fidei catholicæ fundamento*; though it was probably due to Ubertino's skill that no mention was made of Olivi in the decree, and that no condemnation was passed on his writings.⁵

At the final session of the Council of Vienne (6 May, 1312), the Decretal *Exivi de paradiſo* was issued.⁶ It amounts to a confirmation of the decretal *Exitit*,⁷ together with solemn injunctions to the strict observance of the Rule, especially in regard to the taking of money. The utmost caution is enjoined in the use of the concessions made by that Decretal in the matter of the friars supplying themselves with necessaries when alms failed. The following particular points are dealt with,

¹ For particulars of this attack see "Archiv," III, 444 ff.

² The act of accusation against the Zealots is printed in "Archiv," II, 365 ff.

³ Printed in "Archiv," II, 377 ff.

⁴ "Archiv," III, 449, 450.

⁵ Ehrle in "Archiv," III, 448, 449. Olivi's Commentary on the Apocalypse was condemned by Pope John XXII in 1326 ("Archiv," III, 455, 456). Cf. below, p. 38.

⁶ "Clementinarum," lib. V, tit. xi. c. 1.

⁷ Above, p. 15.

which incidentally show how far the Conventuals had now departed from the stringency of the Rule. The practice of accepting any part of the property of novices,¹ of inducing them to give their possessions to convents or particular persons, and of counselling them as to the distribution of their property is forbidden. Receptacles (*cippi vil trunci*) for offerings in money are forbidden whether in churches or elsewhere. The friars are declared incapable of succeeding to property, and are forbidden to engage in lawsuits concerning it. They are allowed gardens for recreation, and may grow vegetables for their own use, but may not have vineyards, or grounds for the raising of vegetables for sale. Granaries and cellars are likewise forbidden, as inconsistent with the fundamental principle of mendicancy, save in case of necessity, of which the local Superiors are to judge. The erection of magnificent or needlessly spacious churches or convents is forbidden.

The vexed question as to *usus pauper* was decided thus: the friars were declared specially bound by their profession to a scanty and poor way of life (*ad arctos usus seu pauperes*) in accordance with the terms of the Rule. "But we judge it presumptuous and temerarious to say, as some are reported to assert, that it is heretical to hold that the *usus pauper* is, or is not, comprised under the vow of Gospel Poverty."² Thus the contentions of both the rival parties were condemned.

There is no doubt that Clement had been deeply impressed by the high character and devotion of the Zealot champions—*Solemnis personæ magnæ et solemnis auctoritatis et zeli*, as he calls them in the Bull of Ex-

¹ This was a very gross departure from S. Francis's intention. See 2 Celano, 67.

The Conventuals contended that the Friars Minor were bound to no *usus pauper* not expressed in the Rule, though they were bound, and more so than other Christians, to a temperate use (*ad usum moderatum temperantiae*).

emption—and was truly desirous of effecting a permanent settlement which should do the fullest justice to their legitimate claims.

One matter, however, and that of the gravest importance, remained undecided ; namely the demand of the Zealots that they should be formed into a congregation separated from the Conventuals, and free to live by the Rule and Testament of S. Francis in their full rigour. “ You neither observe the Rule and Testament yourselves, nor will you allow us to do so ; let us therefore go forth and form a separate body ” : such was in effect the language used by the Zealots to the Conventuals ; and at first sight their demand seems reasonable enough. But since the Zealots, following Olivi’s teaching, claimed that their life was, absolutely, the perfect life, being that of Christ Himself, the Conventuals could not acquiesce in their demand for separation without themselves allowing that claim, and thereby formally admitting that they were less perfect followers of their Founder than the Zealots and stood on a lower plane of the Religious life. This explains their relentless persecution of their opponents, and their resolve to make them submit at all costs to the official Superiors of the Order. So long, therefore, as the Zealots continued to urge their demand for separation, peace was impossible. Other circumstances, moreover, were conspiring to frustrate a settlement on the basis of the Decretal *Exivi de paradyso*. During Ubertino’s absence from Tuscany the Zealots there got out of hand ; and, under the misguided counsel of Canon Martino of Siena, forsook their convents and chose Superiors of their own : some fled to Sicily, others attacked the Conventuals, deprived them of their convents, and drove them away if they refused to make common cause with them.¹ They had, no doubt, been exasperated by long

¹ Huck, “ Ubertino von Casale,” 26-8 ; “ Archiv,” IV, 26, 27.

years of persecution, but none the less such conduct was in flagrant violation of one of the cardinal principles of S. Francis's teaching;¹ and was moreover highly impolitic, for the Tuscan Zealots were beginning to be tainted with heresy and immorality, and could ill afford to do anything which might sink them in popular estimation, or afford the Conventuals a handle against them which they were only too ready to use. On 15 July, 1313, Pope Clement ordered the rebels to return to obedience; most of them disregarded the order and were excommunicated; while some of those who obeyed appear after a short time to have joined the other fugitives in Sicily.²

In Provence, the Pope, after the issue of the Decretal *Exivi*, was doing his best to ensure the establishment of harmony between the two parties: he removed from office (1312) the most violent of the Conventuals, and replaced them by men of a more peaceable stamp; and in the following year he felt justified in bidding the Zealot leaders to return to their convents, submit to their Superiors, and live in unity with their Conventional brethren, whom in like manner he exhorted to treat the Zealots with kindness and charity.

Once more Ubertino, in the name of the Zealots, pleaded urgently for separation from the Conventuals: but the Pope, vainly trusting to the moderation of the latter, or fearing to offend them, refused the petition, and Ubertino and his colleagues meekly submitted, and returned to the endurance of persecution.³ In the same year (1313) the newly appointed Minister-general, Alexander of Alexandria, assigned the three convents of Narbonne, Béziers, and Carcassonne to the Zealots, in order the better to protect them, and ordered that

¹ ² Celano, 145, 151; "Fioretti," c. 8.

² "Archiv," IV, 27, 28.

³ "Hist. VII Tribulationum" in "Archiv," II, 141.

Superiors of their own way of thinking should be set over those convents. On 14 April, 1314, Clement V died, and the Papal throne remained vacant for more than two years. On 5 October the Minister-general also died, and his successor Michael of Cesena was not appointed till 31 May, 1316. This prolonged double vacancy proved most disastrous to the cause of peace in the Order. The settlement arranged by Clement V fell to the ground : the Superiors whom he had deposed were reinstated ;¹ the persecution of the Zealots began again ; and this time they turned upon their opponents and, with the aid of the citizens, forcibly expelled from the convents of Narbonne and Béziers the few Conventuals remaining there (1314). The number of Zealots in these two convents was now raised to 120 by refugees from elsewhere. The Conventuals retorted by proceeding against the rebels for heresy, schism, and apostasy from the Order, and they were excommunicated *en masse* by William Astre, the Custos of Narbonne, the bitterest of their opponents. These proceedings were afterwards quashed through the intervention of some of the Cardinals who befriended the Zealots.²

On 7 August, 1316, John XXII was elected Pope. The Conventuals lost no time in making a formal request for the suppression of the Zealots. These, it may be mentioned, had recently adopted a short, tight-fitting dress which they alleged to be more conformable to the costume of S. Francis and the Primitive Brethren than the habit worn by the Conventuals. It was a measure not calculated to promote peace, and marked more clearly than ever the attitude of open rebellion which the Zealots were rapidly assuming. They did, in fact, refuse obedience to the new Minister-general (Michael of Cesena) though he had met them in a friendly spirit.³

¹ "Archiv," IV, 36.

² *Ib.*, 36-8.

³ Huck, "Ubertin von Casale," 28.

* The new Pope summoned Ubertino and Angelo Clareno with two other representatives of the Zealots to appear ; and (as in 1309-12) the standing quarrel was once more made the subject of prolonged discussion : Pope John became convinced that the time for leniency and compromise was over and that the Zealots must be coerced. On 13 April, 1317, he issued the Decretal *Quorundam exigit*¹ which (*a*) directs the Superiors to prescribe the character, quality, and dimensions of the habit ; (*b*) places the question of the use of granaries and cellars under the direction of the Superiors—without deprecating their use as Clement V had done ;² (*c*) orders the Zealots to discard their new-fangled dress and to vest themselves in accordance with the directions of the Minister-general. Finally the Zealots are admonished to return to discipline and obedience.

This Decretal is startling, for it in effect prescribed the lax observance of the Rule and left the Zealots wholly at their enemies' mercy. But it must be remembered that while the Zealots professed themselves the champions of the Rule "in its vigour and rigour," they read into it the doctrines of Joachim as distorted and exaggerated by the writers of spurious works of Joachim, and as developed by Olivi ; doctrines which S. Francis would have been the first to repudiate. Now the effect of these doctrines, when carried out to their logical conclusions (as the extreme Zealots were fully prepared to carry them out), undoubtedly was the destruction of the existing Catholic hierarchy and ecclesiastical system, and the superseding of them by an order of contemplative fanatics, many of whom were lapsing into heresy and immoral practices. This was an evil of such magnitude that Pope John XXII determined to avert it even at the cost of sacrificing the strict observance of the Rule.

¹ "Extrav. Joannis XXII," tit. xiv. c. x.

² Above, p. 24.

Such would seem to have been the guiding motive of this Pontiff in his dealings with the Zealots.¹

Shortly after the issue of the Bull *Quorundam exigit* the Zealots of Narbonne and Béziers were directed to submit to their lawful Superiors. They replied by making fresh appeals and protests, denying the Pope's power to order the lax observance of the Rule. On 22 May, 1317, a body of sixty-four representatives of these Zealots, summoned by Papal citation, arrived at Avignon. They could not venture to lodge in any of the convents in the city, but passed the night at the door of the Pope's palace, where they remained until they were received in audience before the Pope and Cardinals. The clamours and calumnies of their opponents, to which the Pope lent a ready ear, prevented them, however, from making any effective statement of their case. The following dialogue between Pope John and one of the Zealots, who suffered from delicate health, shows that they could not look for mercy from the Holy Father. Pope John : "Friar Gaufridus, we are not a little surprised that thou art demanding the strict observance of the Rule, and yet wearest five tunics?" Gaufridus : "Holy Father, you are mistaken, for it is not true that I wear five tunics, saving your reverence". Pope : "So then we lie?" Gaufridus : "Holy Father, I said not, nor would I say, that you lie; but I said, and say, that it is not true that I wear five tunics". Pope : "We will keep thee in custody and find out if it is true that thou wearest five tunics".² The "audience" ended amid cries of "Justice! Justice! Holy Father!" from the Zealots. Their spokesmen were imprisoned forthwith; all but four of the remainder eventually made their submission; the four

¹ Cf. Ehrle in "Archiv," IV, 44, 45.

² "Hist. VII Tribulationum," in "Archiv," II, 146. Cf. A. Carlini, "Fra Michelino e la sua eresia," p. 68 (Bologna, 1912).

recalcitrants were handed over to the secular power and burnt.¹

The vigorous measures taken by the Pope completely shattered the party of the Zealots in Provence; but there remained the Zealots in Italy, and they, as we shall see, were destined to give Pope John a good deal of trouble. But before going on to speak of the contest in Italy it will be convenient to give some account of Angelo Clareno, the head of the Zealots there. Though he had now for some time been living in more or less complete detachment from the Order, and though, as we shall see, he proved quite unable to control the excesses of his subjects, he is in his own person a typical representative of the true children of S. Francis through whom the spiritual descent of S. Bernardino from S. Francis is to be traced. Angelo Clareno² entered the Order not long after the year 1260 and imbibed from some of the still surviving companions of S. Francis³ that zeal for their Founder's aims which continued to burn throughout his long life. At the time of the Council of Lyons (1274) an imprudent utterance prompted by that zeal caused the Conventuals to proceed against him and some others for schism and heresy, and he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment with privation of all the sacraments both in life and in death. He re-

¹ "Archiv," II, 146; IV, 42.

² Also known as Angelo of Clarino, Angelo of the valley of Spoleto, and Angelo of Cingoli (in the March of Ancona) which is said to have been his birthplace. Besides his "Epistola excusatoria" (see below) and other works, including translations from the Greek, a good deal of his correspondence has survived, very interesting specimens of which are printed in "Archiv," I, 533 ff. by Ehrle, on whose information my account is based. For list of Angelo's writings see P. Livarius Olinger, "Expositio Regulae FF. Min. auct. Fr. Angelo Clareno" (Quaracchi, 1912), 32 ff.

³ See Angelo's letter to Duke Philip of Majorca in "Archiv," I, 566, and Olinger, op. cit., 23, n. 4.

mained a prisoner for about fifteen years, but at last Raymond Gaufridi, who became Minister-general in 1289, reviewed the proceedings that had been taken against him and his companions, and, finding that their only offence had been their desire to follow the Rule "in its vigour and rigour," ordered their release, and sent Angelo with four others on a mission to the King of Armenia, Ayto or Ayton II. This monarch, who had already asked Pope Nicholas IV that Friars Minor might be sent as missionaries to his country, was so deeply impressed by the life and conversation of Angelo and his companions that he actually assumed the Franciscan habit in 1293.¹ But the Conventuals in Syria who were on their track tried to slander them to the king, and finally drove them back to Italy (1293). When Angelo and one of his companions² reached their province (March of Ancona), the Provincial Minister not only refused to allow them shelter in any convent, but grossly insulted them. The Minister-general, however, sent them to Pope Celestine V³ who was then at Aquila; and he, on hearing the statement of their case, allowed Angelo and some of his friends to live as a congregation of Hermits,⁴ observing the Rule of S. Francis,

¹ Olinger, op. cit., 25; B. de Pisa, "De Conformatitate" in A. F., IV, 348.

² The others went to the Minister-general ("Hist. VII Trib.") in "Archiv," II, 308. See *ib.*, 251 ff., and III, 406.)

³ He reigned from 5 July till 13 December, 1294.

⁴ This new congregation took the name of Pope Celestine's Poor Hermits (*Pauperes Eremitæ Domini Celestini*) and must not be confounded with the *Celestines*, a body of Hermits founded by the same Pope (then Peter of Morrone) and approved in 1264 by Pope Urban IV as a branch of the Benedictine Order. Pope Celestine's Poor Hermits were implicitly dissolved for want of the approbation of Celestine's successor, Boniface VIII, as appears by the Bull *Sancta Romana atque universalis Ecclesia* ("Extrav. Joan. XXII," tit. vii., "De religiosis domibus"); and they were required to rejoin the Order of Friars Minor (Huck, "Ubertin von Casale," 17).

but not using the name of Friars Minor, and owing obedience to Pope Celestine himself alone, and to Fr. Liberato on his behalf.

Celestine also recommended them to the protection of Cardinal Napoleon Orsini. The Pope's action ensured them some months' respite from persecution; but immediately after Celestine's abdication they had once more to fly from their opponents, and in the beginning of 1295 they took refuge in one of the islands off the coast of Greece, where for about two years they remained undisturbed. About the year 1298 they began to be once more molested by the Conventuals, who falsely accused them of heresy, and of preaching against Pope Celestine's successor Boniface VIII. The various incidents of the rancorous persecution to which Angelo and his followers were subjected are related in detail in his "Epistola excusatoria,"¹ but it would take too long to repeat them here. Not till after his return to Italy (probably about 1304) could he avail himself of the protection of Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, who invited Angelo to accompany him into France. He was prevented by illness from accepting this offer, and remained in the neighbourhood of Rome. In 1308, in consequence of the continued slanders of the Conventuals, he was accused before the Inquisition, but acquitted.² In 1311 on the occasion of the Council of Vienne he went to Avignon to further the cause of the Zealots, and remained there with few interruptions³ in the suite of

¹ "Archiv," I, 521 ff.

² *Ib.*, III, 621.

³ One of these interruptions was caused by a visit to Majorca, whither Angelo was summoned by Prince Philip, fourth son of King James II of Majorca and brother of Sancia second wife of King Robert of Naples. Philip of Majorca joined the Zealots and was one of Angelo Clareno's dearest friends. "When I see him," said Angelo, "I fancy I see one of the perfect saints of old." One of Angelo's letters to him begins "*Carissime et reverende ac venerabilis*

Cardinal James Colonna till that Cardinal's death in 1318. Nothing could be more distasteful to the austere and holy Zealot than this enforced sojourn at the Papal Court. "I have always hated with all my heart," he writes in the "Epistola excusatoria," "to be at Court, more than any punishment I have hitherto experienced in the world." (And, as we have seen, he had experienced many.) During the proceedings in 1316-17 concerning the dispute between the Conventuals and the Zealots¹ Angelo was accused of apostasy, heresy, and disobedience to the Church, and was imprisoned by the Pope's order. He replied to the charges in his "Epistola excusatoria"² and his justification of himself was accepted. Wadding (VI, 320, *ad ann.* 1318) gives an interesting account of an interview between Angelo and the Pope which shows the ambiguity of Angelo's position. He at first protested that he was a Minorite, in the hope, perhaps, that the Pope might even now relent and sanction the separation of himself and his followers from the Conventuals; but when the Pope offered him the choice of either submitting to the Superiors of the Order, or of joining some other approved Order, he declared that he was already a Celestine and was thereupon bidden to assume the habit of that Order. This he did, and wore it until the death of Cardinal James Colonna (14 August, 1318); but soon after this he fled back to the Zealots in Italy, over whom he still continued to act as Minister-general (an office he had assumed after the death of Fr. Liberato in 1307) until his death in 1337,³ notwithstanding that on 30 December *dux*". Pope John XXII tempted the Prince with offers of preferment ("Archiv," IV, 68) and Angelo wrote from Avignon to congratulate him on his refusal of a bishopric (*ib.*, I, 564, n. 1).

¹ See above, pp. 27, 28.

² Summer of 1317 ("Archiv," I, 521, n. 2).

³ His official seal as Minister-general bore a figure of S. Francis espousing Poverty, with a kneeling friar beneath. (Document in

1317, by the Bull "*Sancta Romana atque universalis Ecclesia*" (cited above, p. 31 n. 4) the community of Zealots under his leadership had been formally dissolved.¹

His attitude at Avignon towards the Pope undoubtedly strikes one as disingenuous. The fact was, that his conscientious adherence to Olivi's doctrine that the life of the Zealots was the life of Christ, the observance of which the Pope could not lawfully mitigate, had placed him in a hopelessly false position; and this should perhaps have led him to question the soundness of the doctrine. Later on, however, he rose to a far higher conception of the real meaning of the Franciscan vows, as the following extract from one of his letters of exhortation to some of his followers shows:² "We may

"Archiv," IV, 14; and in Fumi, "Eretici e ribelli nell' Umbria" ("Bullettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria" vol. V, p. 420).

¹ Angelo's followers are in this Bull designated as Fraticelli, and to them this name seems to have been primarily applied ("Archiv," IV, 140, 141, 172). It was then extended to the Zealot refugees in Sicily (see above, p. 25 and below, p. 36). At a later time it was applied to the extremest Zealots in general, who had lapsed into heresy and immorality ("Archiv," I, 512), and founded pseudo-religious societies (see "Archiv," IV, 160 ff.). The common characteristic of these societies was that they regarded John XXII as a heretic because of his Decretals against the Zealots, and his successors as heretics because they did not annul those Decretals; and their individual characteristic, that each group deemed itself alone to constitute the true Friars Minor and to be alone in the way of salvation. The term *fraticelli* was further extended to groups of orthodox persons living an ascetic life, but belonging to no Order, and attending on the ordinary ministrations of the Church. In contradistinction to these, the heretical *fraticelli* were qualified by the addition *de opinione* ("Archiv," IV, 168 ff.). Lastly the term was occasionally applied to members of Orders approved by the Church (*ib.*, 175). It is incorrect to apply it to the followers of Segarelli and Dolcino (below, p. 51) who proclaimed the doctrine of the "Freedom of the Spirit" (*ib.*, 153, 178).

² "Archiv," I, 560.

both obey the Church and the Supreme Pontiff, and we may also, if we will, faithfully and fully keep what we have promised, provided however we have a sound judgment and the wisdom of Christ's charity ; aye, and we may do it with an increase of perfection, merit, and virtue. For neither the Church nor the Supreme Pontiff prevent us from doing good, and holily performing our promises to God—chastity, humility, obedience to the Church and to the faith and commandments of God, unity (which the faith and charity of Christ beget and fashion in the faithful and in the Church), the keeping and copying the perfection of Christ's life : for there is no authority against the Lord and the Gospel : but to make a new 'religion' and assume a new habit . . . to think amiss concerning the Church, the Sacraments, Authority, and the Faith : to break and annul the unity or charity of the Faith and the Church, arrogantly and foolishly to assume the cure of souls, to make a wilful and hurtful separation contrary to Christ's spirit, and tending to subvert and scandalize the faithful ; to despise the government, correction and discipline of Superiors—these things are hateful to God and the Church." Then, noting that these are the things the Zealots are accused of, he bids them show their innocence ; and refute the false charges laid against them by still abounding more than ever in good works. He points out that to long for heavenly and spiritual things and to despise the things of earth, to reach forth to the things that are before, forgetful of those that are behind, is the true observance of their vow. He who lives such a life "has all things and they are his own. Popes, Cardinals, bishops, priests—the whole hierarchy serve him, for that he is subject and obedient to them. If they show him favour, he has them for fathers and lords : and if they persecute them, it is the same. And he is ever united indissolubly to them and faithfully and

reverently subject to them in truth for charity's sake."¹ The date of this letter is not known, but the allusion to the breach in the unity of the Church suggests that it was penned at the time when Lewis of Bavaria and his antipope were in Rome,² and when Angelo Clareno was at Subiaco.

Returning now to Pope John's campaign against the Zealots, he followed up the Bull *Sancta Romana*³ by another, *Gloriosam ecclesiam*⁴ directed against the Sicilian Zealots (23 January, 1318). These, with Henry of Ceva as their Minister-general, had sundered themselves from the Order and set up a complete organization of their own.⁵ Five doctrines held by them are condemned by the Bull:—(1) That there were two churches, the one carnal, wealthy, and wicked, whose head was the Pope of Rome; the other, spiritual, poor, and holy, viz. themselves. (2) That the Catholic hierarchy had forfeited the authority of their Orders and Jurisdiction, which had passed to themselves (the Sicilian Zealots). (3) That the taking of any oath was unlawful. (4) That priests of evil life cannot minister the Sacraments even though lawfully ordained. (5) That Christ's Gospel was fulfilled in themselves alone.

These propositions show that they had not only carried out the Joachim-Olivi doctrine to its logical conclusion, but had also been affected by the teaching of the Cathari and Waldenses (cf. below, p. 50). It was high time indeed for the Pope to bestir himself in the defence of the Faith, for it was now no longer a mere matter of discipline within the Franciscan Order that was in dispute:

¹ Compare Angelo's emphatic statements, as to the authority of the Holy See in his "Expositio Regulæ" (Oliger, op. cit., 33, 44, 80, 81; cf. *ib.*, 201).

² See below, p. 43.

³ Above, p. 34.

⁴ Wadding, VI, 312-5; Huck, "Ubertin von Casale," 36, 37.

⁵ They were eventually dispersed; some fled to the mountains, others to the mainland, others to the East (see "Archiv," IV, 163.)

the question had been extended by Olivi and his followers to the region of doctrine when they proclaimed that Christ and His Apostles had had no property even in the food they ate and the clothes they wore, and inferred thence that Christ's Vicar and the Prelates of the Church were no true Pastors unless they did likewise. It does not seem to have occurred to them to ask how the government of the Church was to be carried on, if the Pope and Cardinals and necessary officials of the Curia were to pass their time in begging their bread from door to door.

An incident at Narbonne in 1321 led to a formal examination of the dogmatic question. Proceedings for heresy had been taken against a man who belonged to the sect of the Beguins. He asserted as part of his belief, that Christ and His Apostles had had no rights of property, whether individually or in common. One of the theologians consulted by the Inquisitor held that this proposition was not heretical, being sanctioned by the Decretal *Exitit qui seminat*.¹ The Pope was then appealed to, and an acrimonious discussion took place in which the Dominicans (to which Order the Inquisitor belonged) also took part. On Passion Sunday (28 March, 1322) the Pope consulted Ubertino of Casale² who gave the following opinion:—³

The question, he said, could not be answered by a

¹ Above, p. 15.

² Tocco, "La questione della povertà nel secolo XIV," 276 (Naples, 1910).

³ Wadding, VI, p. 362. Ubertino had been transferred to the Benedictine Order on 1 October, 1317, at his own request, and subsequently he seems to have renounced monastic life altogether. On 16 September, 1325, Pope John issued a warrant to arrest him for "vagabondage" and on 17 January, 1328, he was present at the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria (below, p. 43). In 1329 he preached at Como against John XXII. He was dead before 16 May, 1341 (A.F.H., V, 798, citing article by H. Otto).

direct negative or affirmative, but distinctions must be drawn, and he therefore held (*a*) that Christ and the Apostles as *Prelates of the Church* had property in common to distribute to the poor, and to the ministers of the Church.

(*b*) That Christ and the Apostles as *private individuals* had the ownership of the things necessary for their support, but that they had renounced the power of enforcing their legal rights thereto (citing S. Matt. v. 40, and S. Luke vi. 29) and *in this sense* they had no property either individually or in common.

This very ingenious solution of the difficulty might perhaps have secured the acquiescence of both parties, but unhappily the Pope, under the influence of the Dominicans, had already determined to have the subject debated anew, and he proposed for discussion the question, "Whether it be heretical to affirm persistently that Christ and His Apostles possessed no goods either collectively or individually?" with special reference to the Decretal *Exitit qui seminat*. To this end it was necessary to suspend the penalties denounced in that Decretal against those who should discuss it, or put glosses on it, and accordingly, on 26 March, 1322, the Bull of Suspension *Quia nonnunquam* was issued.¹ This was a very strong measure, seeing that the Decretal *Exitit* had been sanctioned by a General Council,² formed part of the Canon Law, and had been commended by Pope John himself in the preamble of the Bull *Quorundam exigit*, as was pointed out in a solemn Protest, dated 4 June, 1322, and issued by the Chapter-general of the Order held under Michael of Cesena, the Minister-general at Perugia. In this Protest or answer they asserted that the proposition contained in the Pope's

¹ "Extrav. Joannis XXII," tit. xiv. c. 2; and Wadding, VI, p. 395.

² Above, p. 23.

question was not heretical, but in accordance with the Catholic faith. The Chapter-general on 11 July issued a more elaborate answer to the same effect in which they committed themselves to the doctrine that Christ and the Apostles had nothing but the *usus facti*.¹ They likewise appointed Fr. Bonagrazia of Bergamo their Proctor to plead their cause at Avignon. These official utterances of the Order show that the Pope's action was leading to a coalition of the Conventuals and the Zealots against him, and should have warned him that he was going too far; but he had now (so to say) got the bit between his teeth, and on 12 November, 1322, in the Decretal *Cum inter nonnullos*² he gave the lie to the Chapter-general by declaring that it is heretical to hold

1. That our Lord and His Apostles had nothing, whether individually or collectively.

2. That our Lord and His Apostles had no legal rights of ownership over the things that Scripture testifies that they had.³

It may seem surprising that the Conventuals, whose cellars, vineyards, granaries, and splendid buildings loudly proclaimed their increasing luxury, should have taken up so stiff an attitude about Apostolic Poverty as they did in the Protests; but it must be remembered that in their view the fact that they were nominally destitute of property, the legal ownership of the things they used being vested in the Holy See, was a sufficient fulfilment of their vow of Gospel Poverty. Therefore "their withers were unstrung". The Pope's next move however was rather disconcerting to them, for by the Decretal

¹ The two answers of the Chapter-general are printed in Wadding, VI, 396-401.

² "Extrav. Joannis XXII," tit. XIV. c. 4.

³ *Quod Redemptori nostro eiusque Apostolis quæ ipsos habuisse scriptura sacra testat nequaquam ius ipsis utendi competierit nec illa vendendi seu donandi ius habuerint; aut ex ipsis alia acquirendi.*

Ad conditorem canonum (8 December, 1322)¹ he repealed the Decretals *Ordinem vestrum* and *Exit qui seminat*² as regards the vesting in the Holy See of things whose use was enjoyed by the friars except as to churches, oratories, outbuildings (*officinæ*) and habitations; and vessels, books and vestments used in Divine Service;³ and declared that except as aforesaid the Church (i.e. the Holy See) should thenceforth acquire no right or property in the things whereof the friars had the use. The property in such things would therefore by implication vest in the Order or in the friars.⁴ The distinction between *usus iuris* and *usus facti* drawn by the Decretal *Exit* was repudiated.⁵

The Decretal *Ad conditorem* produced extreme irritation among the Conventuals, who saw themselves (partially at least) stript of the cloak beneath which they had been masquerading as the followers of the absolute poverty of their Founder; while the fury of the Zealots knew no bounds. The long-expected Antichrist had certainly come at last! Moreover, the scant respect shown by Pope John for the enactments of his predecessors and for the Decree of the Council of Vienne, caused per-

¹ "Extrav. Joannis XXII," tit. xiv. c. 3.

² Above, pp. 9, 15.

³ This exception was not contained in the Bull as originally issued (see Carlini, "Fra Michelino e la sua eresia," 102).

⁴ The friars, in order to evade their difficulty, adopted the expedient of conveying their landed property to laymen or to the nuns of S. Clara to hold in trust to pay the revenues to the friars (Carlini, op. cit., 113, and cf. below, ch. II. pp. 95-6).

⁵ The operation of the Decretal *Ad conditorem* was as concerning the Apostolic Syndics, suspended by Martin V in 1427 (Bull *Amabiles fructus*, in Wadding, X, 130). By restoring the system of Syndics (see above, p. 9) he implicitly resumed on behalf of the Holy See the property in the things whereof the friars had the use. A similar course had been followed during the Papal Schism by Boniface IX (Hüttebräuker, "Die Minoritenorden zur Zeit des grossen Schismas," p. 74, Berlin, 1893).

plexity and even dismay among the faithful at large.¹ On 10 November, 1324, in yet another Decretal *Quia quorundam*² the Pope condemned the impugners of the Decretals *Cum inter nonnullos* and *Ad conditorem*, again refuted the distinction between *usus iuris* and *usus facti*, and pronounced heretical the doctrine that Christ and the Apostles enjoyed only *usus facti* of the things they had. For the next three years the friars remained in a state of sullen resistance; and then the storm broke. The Minister-general, Michael of Cesena, was summoned to Avignon, sharply reprimanded by the Pope for his opposition to the Decretals, and forbidden to leave the Court without permission (9 April, 1328). Shortly afterwards, however (25 May), Michael, accompanied by Fr. Bonagrazia, the celebrated William of Ockham (who had had a hand in the protests of the Perugian Chapter) and some others fled by sea to Pisa and joined the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. The Pope thereupon deposed Michael from the office of Minister-general to which he had just been re-elected, greatly to the Pope's displeasure, by the Chapter-general at Bologna.³

The great quarrel among the Franciscans had now spread from the region of doctrine to that of politics, and, in order to understand this development of the situation, it will be necessary to refer briefly to the contest between Pope John and Lewis of Bavaria, in which the Franciscan complication was now merged. On 28 September, 1322, Lewis Duke of Bavaria, who had been engaged for about eight years in a contest for the Empire with Frederick Duke of Austria, defeated his competitor and took him prisoner at the battle of Mühldorf. Pope John, who claimed the right to dispose of the Imperial throne, and wished to bestow it on the King of France, was

¹ G. Villani, "Cronica," IX, 157.

² "Extrav. Joannis XXII," tit., XIV. c. 5.

³ Wadding, VII, p. 83.

determined not to recognize Lewis as Emperor. Pope John had appointed Robert of Anjou, King of Naples, Imperial Vicar in Italy in 1321, and was inclined to favour the designs which that monarch entertained of extending his dominions; partly because the King of Naples was the hereditary ally of the Papal against the Imperialist party in Italy, partly because the favour shown to John by Robert's father Charles II (whose chancellor he had been) and by Robert himself gave Robert some claim on his support.¹ In 1322 Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget (Pope John's legate in Italy) proclaimed a crusade against the Visconti of Milan, the mainstay of the Imperialist interest in North Italy; and thenceforth, by means of spiritual censures, armed forces, bribery, and intrigue, the Pope, supported by King Robert,² waged an implacable war against Lewis, whom, however, he could not prevent from coming into Italy and being

¹ Robert had procured him the bishopric of Avignon in 1309, and had exerted himself, with some effect, to bring about his election to the Papacy (Verlaque, "Jean XXII," pp. 38-9, 42, 64-8). John's name before he became Pope was James Duèze.

² King Robert's position was complicated by the fact that his consort Sancia and her family were devotees of the Zealots, and that the favour these had long enjoyed at the Neapolitan court was a serious obstacle to Pope John's measures for their suppression. As late as 1333 two of the Queen's chaplains were excommunicated Zealots (see "Archiv," IV, 82 ff. and documents there printed). Robert himself, moreover, who prided himself on his theological learning, had written a treatise on the Poverty of Christ and the Apostles which the Zealots considered to be favourable to their contention; but the Wise King had guarded himself by submitting his views to the Pope's correction (see Siragusa, "L'ingegno, il sapere, e gl'intendimenti di Roberto d'Angiò," pp. 128 ff.). So Robert, who was as G. Villani says (XII, 10) the wisest king that had been in Christendom for the last 500 years, knew how to balance his religious against his political conscience, and while assisting Pope John with troops (Muratori, "Annali d'Italia," ad ann. 1322) prevented the Pope's letters from being delivered in his dominions (document in Siragusa, op. cit., Appendix, p. xi).

crowned (by excommunicated prelates) at Milan (31 May, 1327) and at Rome (17 January, 1328). On the day following the coronation (18 January, 1328) Lewis affected to depose Pope John XXII as a heretic and traitor, and on 12 May, just before Michael of Cesena joined him, he raised up an Anti-pope in the person of Peter of Corbara, one of the Zealot friars, who had long enjoyed the reputation of an exemplary life. Lewis invested him with the insignia of office and, after the assembled populace had given a confused assent to the appointment, greeted him by the name of Nicholas V. At Whitsuntide, Lewis and Peter crowned one another Pope and Emperor respectively.¹ Pope John had already on 23 October, 1327, fulminated against Lewis "every censure and every other penalty, spiritual and temporal that can ever be imagined".² The story of the struggle between Lewis and the Papacy belongs to the main stream of ecclesiastical history, but three circumstances connected with it have a claim on our attention as bearing on the matter we have in hand. These circumstances are :—

I. The division of parties in the Order produced by the revolt of Michael of Cesena.

II. The relations between Lewis of Bavaria and his Franciscan adherents.

III. The behaviour of the Anti-pope and his subjects.

I. At the time when Michael of Cesena allied himself with Lewis of Bavaria we can distinguish amid the prevailing confusion the following four groups into which the professing followers of S. Francis may be roughly divided :—

i. The faithful adherents of Angelo Clareno³ whom

¹ Wadding, VII, 79.

² Muratori, "Annali d'Italia," ann. 1327.

³ See below, p. 52, On the obscure group of the *Eremitæ Angelii Clarenii* see A.F.H., III (1910), p. 254; M.F., IX, 58.

we may call Moderate Zealots, true disciples of S. Francis, but wanting in legal status because cut off from the main body, and acknowledging Angelo as their Minister-general.

2. The main body of the Conventuals who had, in a greater or less degree, forsaken the teaching of their Founder, but were in possession of legal status and in visible unity with the Church.

3. The Michaelists, or adherents of Michael of Cesena, who (in the strict sense of the term) consisted of Conventuals who could not stomach the Constitutions of Pope John XXII, and looked to the Empire and a General Council for procuring their repeal. These, like the members of the first group, were without legal status, and acknowledged Michael as their Minister-general.

4. The extreme Zealots, or as we may now conveniently call them Fraticelli,¹ who were rapidly drifting from schism into heresy under the influence of the various heretical bodies with which they had so much in common.² It is important to observe that the Fraticelli supported Michael of Cesena when he joined himself to Lewis, at any rate at first, and submitted to his authority,³ the bond of union between them being their common hostility to Pope John, which led to the name of Michaelists being applied to them.⁴ But it is better to avoid calling the Fraticelli Michaelists, since their connexion with Michael was temporary and accidental and

¹ See above, p. 34 n. 1.

² "Archiv," IV, 158 ff.

³ *Ib.*, IV, 151, 152.

⁴ Carlini, "Fra Michelino," 207 ff. Thus in the "Dialogus contra Fraticellos S. Jacobi de Marchia" (Baluze, "Miscellanea," ed. Mansi, p. 595) we find the term Michaelists applied to groups of Fraticelli, who to the views on the Poverty of Christ and the Apostles held by Michael of Cesena superadded communistic ideas and immoral practices.

(except as above stated) did not imply a community of views between them. Michael, in fact, before his revolt was not a Zealot, but a Conventual of the higher type, eminent both for his learning and his piety; and though after his revolt he attacked Pope John's Decretals with the same arguments that the Zealots had so long used, he was far from countenancing the strange doctrines and immoral practices which characterized the Fraticelli. The Michaelists proper were more distinguished by their eminence than by their numbers, and in a comparatively short time either submitted to the Pope or died out.¹ Michael himself accompanied his protector Lewis to Munich, and from there until his death in 1342 continued to thunder against John XXII and his successor Benedict XII.²

The primitive unity of the Order was thus completely shattered, but yet the lines on which its restoration might be and eventually was (so far as possible) effected are even now discernible. The essential thing was to bring the Moderate Zealots and the Conventuals into agreement, for they were complementary to one another; and if the true observance of the Rule for which the former stood, could be united with the legal status enjoyed by the latter, the Order would be once more complete. The obstinate refusal of the Michaelists to submit to the Papacy,³ and the heretical beliefs of the Fraticelli must cause them to be cut off as dead branches.

II. In the war between Lewis and the Papacy, Italy, as has been well said,⁴ formed the key of the position. Lewis must choose between the alternatives of asserting over Italy the rights of the Empire with the aid of

¹ Wadding, VII, p. 85: "Dialogus," above cited, pp. 596, 600.

² Carlini ("Fra Michelino," 195 ff.) has shown that Michael's alleged recantation is apocryphal.

³ Contrast with this the attitude of A. Clareno (above, p. 35).

⁴ Riezler, "Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste," p. 16.

such support as the Imperialist (Ghibelline) princes and republics could give him, or of acknowledging King Robert of Naples as Imperial Vicar¹ and thus renouncing the last tangible relics of the Imperial power. He determined to fight for his cause, and found an unexpected ally in the rebel Franciscans. They seem to have first approached him early in 1324² and the first evidence of their activity in his cause is furnished by the "Sachsenhausen Appeal," a manifesto in which Lewis in March, 1324, replied to a process instituted against him by the Pope at the end of the previous year; in which appeal the rebels procured to be inserted a statement of their doctrine concerning the Poverty of Christ, and a denunciation of Pope John as a heretic because of his rulings on this subject.³ The fact that a considerable portion of the interpolated matter was extracted from Olivi's works,⁴ shows that the Zealots were the movers in this business, but it is probable that the Michaelists also had come to some understanding with Lewis before their leader's flight from Avignon.⁵ There is nothing to surprise us in this coalition of the rebel Franciscans with Lewis, for it was to their mutual profit. He availed himself of their theology to brand the Pope as a heretic; they (or at least the Zealots) with his material strength at their disposal, at last had a chance of overthrowing the "carnal" church and establishing their "spiritual" one. The Michaelists indeed were in more doubtful case, since, even if they upset Pope John, there remained their Zealot allies to reckon with; but at least they might hope to obtain the condemnation of the Zealots by a General Council.

We have seen that it was not till after the making of

¹ See above, p. 42.

² See Carlini, "Fra Michelino," 105, 106.

³ See Riezler, op. cit., 24, 25.

⁴ See "Archiv," III, 540 ff.

⁵ Cf. Wadding, VII, p. 69, and Carlini, op. cit., 128, n. 1.

the Anti-pope that Michael of Cesena openly joined Lewis.¹ Before this time the Imperial policy had been chiefly guided by Marsilio of Padua (who belonged to the secular clergy). This man, decidedly the most original political thinker of the Middle Ages, had already in his "Defensor pacis" elaborated the Emperor's case against Pope John;² in which, by a startling anticipation of the doctrine of the French Revolution, he had laid it down that the will of the people is the source of the sovereign power. He held that the Prince rules by the election of his subjects, from whom he derives his authority, and that he is the instrument of their will.³ Thus it is in virtue of authority derived from the people that the Electors choose the Emperor, and that he rules.

Fundamentally a democrat in politics, Marsilio is an Erastian in religion. He denies the primacy of S. Peter and of the Pope : all bishops are equal, there is no essential difference between bishops and priests : the clergy can but warn and instruct, and a heretic can only be punished if he transgresses the laws of the State. Further, the State (or the parishioners) should nominate the persons to receive holy orders, and no bishop or priest (*sic*) should take part in an ordination without the licence of the State.⁴ The supreme authority in matters of faith and worship is a General Council consisting of representatives clerical and lay (*presbyteros primum et non presbyteros consequenter*), elected in the manner determined by each State represented, and meeting and acting by the authority of the whole body of the faithful.⁵ Marsilio found it as difficult as Joachim had done,⁶ to fit the Pope into his system. He

¹ Above, pp. 41, 43.

² Goldast, "Monarchia," II, 154 ff. Marsilio's colleague John of Jandun co-operated in the work (Riezler, op. cit., 56). Riezler gives a convenient summary of it (pp. 194 ff.).

³ "Def. pacis," I, 12, 15. ⁴ *Ib.*, II, 17 (Goldast, II, p. 248).

⁵ *Ib.*, II, 20 (Goldast, II, pp. 256, 258). ⁶ Above, p. 5.

seems, in fact, to have thought that the only use for a Pope would be to act as chairman of the General Council, and to advise the State as to the expediency of calling such a Council together.¹ Riezler points out² that the proceedings in Rome in connexion with the coronation of Lewis, the deposition of Pope John, and the making of the Anti-pope were carried out in strict accordance with the principles laid down in the "Defensor Pacis".

The political writings of Michael of Cesena's companion, William of Ockham, date from 1330 to 1349, when, like Michael, he had retired to Munich. He writes with a degree of philosophic detachment that makes it difficult at times to come at his own individual opinion;³ but yet it does appear that he viewed the Papacy not as a divine, but as a human institution, unessential to the being of the Church;⁴ and further that he held that one earthly head of the Church is not indispensable; for that as different kingdoms are under different sovereigns, so different provinces may be under different prelates under Christ the supreme Shepherd.⁵

How far such extreme doctrines were assented to by Michael of Cesena and the majority of his adherents it is impossible to say. He probably disapproved of the desperate measure of setting up an Anti-pope,⁶ and would have been satisfied had Lewis been able to gather a General Council which should depose Pope John XXII and re-enact the Decretal *Exitit qui seminat*.⁷ But

¹ "Def. pacis," II, 22 (Goldast, II, p. 264).

² Op. cit., 49, 50. ³ Cf. Riezler, op. cit., 250. ⁴ Ib., 259.

⁵ G. de Occam, "Dialogus," in Goldast, "Monarchia," pp. 818, 819.

⁶ See Carlini, "Fra Michelino," 131, 145, 243, n. 1.

⁷ In a manifesto addressed to Lewis and the Princes of Germany (Goldast, "Monarchia," II, 1344) Michael begins by declaring that the Papal authority has failed (*videtur expirasse de medio*) by God's judgment; and ends by appealing to a General Council *quod in fide et moribus praeest papæ sicut superior*, and cannot err, for that it repre-

in any case the Michaelists had utterly forsaken the standpoint of S. Francis and Angelo Clareno, and had proceeded as Riezler says¹ from opposition to the dogmatic decision of the Pope "to rejection of his authority, his infallibility, his supremacy in matters of the Faith, in short, the whole Papal system as it had been developed in the course of the preceding centuries; and despairing of other help, were calling on the Secular Power to intermeddle directly with dogma." And in so doing they were beginning to pave the way for the approaching era of General Councils and the still distant Protestant Reformation.

III. The behaviour of the Anti-pope and his subjects proved how rotten the creed of the Zealots was as a spiritual force. The Anti-pope himself, far from begging his bread from door to door as S. Francis had done in Rome, and inaugurating (as might have been expected) the reign of contemplative mendicants who, in the Age of the Spirit, were to supersede the existing hierarchy, forthwith proceeded to a creation of Cardinals, set up the pomp and circumstance of a Court, and, as far as he could, emulated the simony and rapacity of Pope John XXII.² The number of his followers was swelled by members of the secular clergy, criminal clerks flying from punishment, and renegades from other religious orders.³ The position of Lewis in Rome soon became untenable and early in August 1328, he set out northward with the Anti-pope and Cardinals in his train, and took up his abode in the Umbrian city of Todi. This city, comprised in the

sents the Church Universal. Herein William of Ockham seems to differ from him (Riezler, p. 289, and cf. L. Pastor, "History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages," I, 178, 182 in Antrobus's English translation).

¹ Op. cit. 249.

² G. Villani, X, 74; Wadding, VII, 80; and Carlini in "Archivio Muratoriano," No. 5, p. 266 n., line 41.

³ Wadding, VII, 81.

Patrimony of S. Peter,¹ was a Ghibelline stronghold and, in the general uprising of the Imperialists due to Lewis's presence in Italy, had thrown off the Papal yoke. After Lewis had retired from Italy the rebellion of Todi formed the subject of a process before the Inquisition, and the record of these proceedings, together with other documents in the Vatican Archives which have been published by Comm. Luigi Fumi² give a good idea of the life of Gospel Poverty as practised by the Fraticelli. From them the following information is derived. Denunciations of Pope John as Antichrist, and the Church of Rome as the Babylonish harlot formed of course the staple of their preaching. As to the grounds of their denial of John's title to the Papacy, in addition to the general charge that his Decretals were heretical, we find mention in the Todi proceedings of persons maintaining that Pope John was a heretic because he had canonized Thomas Aquinas. This shows how far their fanaticism carried them. We have seen what S. Thomas's doctrine was;³ and it roused the fury of the Fraticelli to such a point that they conceived Pope John to be a heretic on the mere ground that he had canonized the man who had proclaimed it. One of the witnesses (who had abjured the tenets of the Fraticelli) deposed that his belief had been that John XXII was not Pope, and that any Pope losing Grace and being in mortal sin loses the authority of a Pope. This is important, for it shows that the Fraticelli were being forced into the position of holding the principle, which lay at the root of the heresies of the Cathari and Waldenses, viz. that the ministerial acts of the clergy are invalidated by their being in a state of

¹ See W. Heywood, "A History of Perugia," p. 94, n. 1.

² "Eretici e ribelli nell' Umbria dal 1320 al 1330," in vols. III, IV, and V of the "Bullettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per L'Umbria".

³ Above, pp. 18, 19.

sin, or, in other words, that the efficacy of the Sacra-
ments depends on the spiritual condition of the minister
(cf. above, p. 36).

Turning from doctrine to practice, we find that the gentleness and forbearance of S. Francis had given place to intimidation and violence: a priest was compelled by threats to celebrate Mass; an aged and infirm friar, attempting to escape from Todi, was brought back by force; two of the rebel friars expelled the inmates of the convent of Cerbarolo; and one of the Anti-pope's Cardinals made an armed attack on a monastery; while the Anti-pope in his need for money plundered the treasures of the church of S. Fortunato.¹ Other questionable practices were current: thus the friars of the hospital of Altopascio in Tuscany affected to promise indulgences and to threaten excommunications, and granted for money absolution for serious crimes; they also forged a Papal Bull attesting that they possessed some drops of the Saviour's blood. But there were worse things than these. Some of the Fraticelli were defiled by the practices of the "Sect of the Spirit of Liberty" originated by Dolcino of Novara, himself a disciple of Gherardino Segalelli of Parma founder of the sect of the "Apostles".² These practices had been introduced into Umbria in the early years of the fourteenth century by Fr. Bentivegna of Gubbio who was known as the "Apostle" and held fatalistic and materialistic opinions from which he deduced the practical

¹ G. Villani, X, 95.

² See Salimbene, pp. 256 ff. (ed. Holder-Egger), and Coulton, "From S. Francis to Dante" (2nd ed.), pp. 323 ff. For Dolcino see "Historia F. Dulcini" in Muratori, "R. I. Scriptores" (new ed.), fasc. 51-6. The sect continued during the life of S. Bernardino, who denounces it more than once ("Opera," III, 129; IV, 165); cf. Serms. 24 and 56, "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 135, 374). Elsewhere he refers to the career of Dolcino (2 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 158).

conclusion that men might live as they pleased in carnal indulgence. Similar teaching was given by another Franciscan friar, Giovannuccio of Bevagna.¹ The perverted morality of such men is well illustrated by the trial of Paolo Zoppo before the Inquisition at Rieti in 1334². Paolo Zoppo had learnt his nefarious practices from Fr. Raymond of Spoleto. The facts are unfit for reproduction here, and it must suffice to say that with Paolo Zoppo and men of his kidney the vow of Obedience became the means of breaking the vow of Chastity, and, by a kind of diabolical ingenuity, the mortification of the flesh was actually made to minister to fleshly indulgence. Nay, such was his effrontery, that he told the Inquisitor that it was after he had begun to appear "spiritual" that he set about his evil deeds. And, as Fumi says, his confessing himself a "spiritual" shows that this was equivalent to calling himself a follower of the Spirit of Liberty.

Some of these evil men, and perhaps even Paolo Zoppo, acknowledged Angelo Clareno as their Minister-general;³ but Angelo's personal reputation is safe; and he can hardly be blamed for not exercising so strict a supervision over his followers as could have been wished, seeing that he himself was compelled to live more or less the life of a fugitive. The long arm of Pope John's Inquisition was stretched out against him, and he was even obliged to make use of aliases in order to elude the vigilance of his persecutors.⁴

¹ Fumi in "Bullettino" cited III, 448-451.

² Printed in full by Fumi in "Bullettino" cited V, 349 ff.: in abbreviated form by Ehrle in "Archiv," IV, 78 ff.

³ See "Archiv," IV, 9, 10, 164.

⁴ *Ib.*, III, 406; IV, 24. In the "Historia VII Tribulationum" which was in all probability written by A. Clareno, the "Sect of the Spirit of Liberty," Segalelli and Dolcino are spoken of with abhorrence ("Archiv," II, 130, 131).

We now turn from the Fraticelli to trace the beginning of that movement for the restoration of the Strict Observance of S. Francis's Rule with which S. Bernardino's name is so closely associated. The Zealots, well-meaning as they had been at first, had only succeeded in breaking up the unity of the Order. They had failed in their aim to restore it to its original purity, and that for two reasons: first, because they had forsaken the path of meekness and submission trodden by S. Francis, and secondly because they had embraced the false doctrines of Joachim and Olivi. We shall now see how the Reform of the Order which they had longed for was gradually effected by men who worked in the spirit of S. Francis, and from whom the leaven of Joachism had been purged out.

The actual beginning of this movement dates from 1334 (the year of the death of Pope John XXII) when Fr. Giovanni Valle received permission from the Minister-general Gerald Odo to found with four companions the hermitage of Brugliano near Colfiorito, which lies a short distance north-east of Foligno, between that town and Camerino; and here till his death in 1351 he and his companions observed the Rule in all its strictness and renewed the life of Rivo Torto and Portiuncula.

It is important to notice that it was no other than Angelo Clareno, then far advanced in years, who had helped Giovanni Valle with advice concerning his new foundation.¹ Angelo thus forms the link between the companions of S. Francis² and those friars of the Regular Observance by whom the true life of Gospel Poverty lived by the Saint and his earliest followers was revived. Very soon, however, an untoward occurrence showed the difficulty of the new enterprise and the danger there still was of repeating the old mistakes. The disciples of Giovanni Valle had increased, and

¹ "Archiv," IV, 182.

² See above, p. 30.

some of them, with Gentile of Spoleto (a layman) at their head, had obtained in 1350 from Pope Clement VI a Bull granting them four hermitages exempted from the jurisdiction of the Superiors of the Order.¹ This was enough to rouse the anger and suspicion of the Conventuals : but this was not all. Gentile and his followers were mad enough to revive the peculiar dress first invented by the Zealots in the south of France,² the badge of all that was most repugnant to the feelings of the Conventuals. Furthermore they had harboured heretics in the hope, as they said, of converting them, instead of denouncing them to the Inquisition.³ The result was that the privilege granted by Clement VI was revoked by Innocent VI in 1355, and Gentile and his followers were bidden to return to the obedience of the Superiors of the Order.⁴ The little band of hermits was accordingly scattered. The newly kindled flame was nearly extinguished ; yet it did not die out ; and at length in 1368 the Reform movement was fairly started by Paolo, or, as he was familiarly known on account of his diminutive stature, Paoluccio di Vannozzo de' Trinci, who, through the intervention of his powerful kinsman Trincia d' Ugolino de' Trinci, at that time Lord of Foligno, obtained with some difficulty permission from the Minister-general of the Order (Fr. Thomas Farignano) to practise the Strict Observance of the Rule with a few companions in the same little hermitage of S. Bartolommeo di Brugliano in which he had been taught by Giovanni Valle and Gentile of Spoleto.⁵ It was a wild, lonely spot ; the ways were so rough that Paoluccio and his companions could not go barefoot but (with the Minister-general's leave) adopted the wooden shoes worn by the neighbouring peasants, who went about clad in sheepskins

¹ Wadding, VIII, 45; Mariano, "Compendium Chronicarum F.F. Min.," A.F.H. III, 303.

² See above, p. 27.

⁴ *Ib.*

³ Wadding, VIII, 103.

⁵ *Ib.*, 209, 210.

and goatskins : there were marshes near, and the friars suffered from a plague of frogs and serpents : the latter invaded the house and crawled into their beds, to their great discomfort and terror. Some of the little band, indeed, were not proof against these hardships, and withdrew : but others of stouter heart replaced them, chief among whom were Angelo of Monteleone and John of Stroncone. Their numbers grew, and it became necessary to enlarge their dwelling : still they grew ; and the Observant Friars¹ began to spread abroad, and, with the consent of the Minister-general above-named and his successors, to occupy hermitages in other places. It is to be noted that the Observant movement was originally a lay movement : Paoluccio was a layman (M.F. VI, 104) and for some time the priests among the Observants were few.²

In 1374 we have the first extant documentary evidence of the favour of the Head of the Church being extended to the Observants, for, on 22 June, Pope Gregory XI addressed a letter to the Bishop of Orvieto enjoining him to take measures for protecting the Observants (who are referred to in terms of high praise) from persecution by the Superiors of the Order in the Province of Rome.³ It is obvious from this document that in

¹ In full, Friars of the Regular (or Strict) Observance. I use this appellation for convenience sake, though it was not introduced till later. It was officially recognized by the Council of Constance in 1415 (see below, p. 61, and Wadding, VIII, 327).

² B. Bernardini Aquilani, "Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae," xxxiv. (Rome, 1902).

³ See Ehrle in "Archiv," IV, 184, where the letter is printed. Mariano in his life of Fr. Paoluccio (M.F., VI, 107), says that six Observant Friars came to Pope Gregory XI at Villeneuve by Avignon, and that the Pope by a Bull dated 28 July, 1370, "approved their holy purpose," and sent a plenary indulgence to all the friars living in the eleven convents subject to Paoluccio (cf. below, pp. 56, 57, n. 1.) It can hardly be credited that so many convents had been secured in so short a time, especially as the life of Paoluccio in the "Frances-

spite of the irreproachable character of Paoluccio and his followers (perhaps even because of it) they were still exposed to the ill-will of the Conventuals; but an event which happened at Perugia about this time did much to strengthen their position and increase their influence. The Fraticelli were especially numerous in Perugia, where they had managed to secure a good deal of popular support, helped no doubt by the laxity of the Conventuals there, whose luxury and self-indulgence had brought the name of Friars Minor into contempt, and seemed to give point to the specious professions of the Fraticelli and to excuse the gibes and insults which these put upon the Conventuals. Their position became intolerable, and they discussed what could be done to improve it. One suggestion was to fetch Fr. Paoluccio from Brugliano. This was acted on, and in answer to the entreaties of the Perugian Conventuals enforced by the command of the Provincial Minister, Paoluccio came to the city and held a public disputation with the Fraticelli, whom he reduced to silence. Inquiry was then made concerning their conduct, it was found that they had a false Pope and Cardinals of their own,¹ and that two of them were convicted heretics; and they were ignominiously driven out of Perugian territory.² The Conventuals thereupon showed their gratitude to Paoluccio by assigning to him and his friars the convent of S. Francesco del Monte outside the city, and further by persuading Fr. Leonard, the Minister-general, to authorize Paoluccio and the Guardians of the seven

china" says that the convent of S. Francisco del Monte by Perugia (acquired in 1374) was only the *second* convent taken by the Observants (M.F., VI, 103).

¹ Cf. Mariano in M.F., VI, 107.

² Wadding, VIII, 299, 300, and "Life of Paoluccio," printed from the "Franceschina," in M.F., IV, 149, and again in VI, 101. On the Perugian Fraticelli see A.F.H., IV, 691.

hermitages occupied by his friars to go themselves, or send their friars into any convent in the province of S. Francis and the neighbouring provinces.¹ The effect of this was greatly to accelerate the spread of the movement. The significance of the Perugian episode, in which we see Paoluccio, the founder of the Observants, called in by the Conventuals to aid them against the Fraticelli, is obvious, and cannot be over-rated. In the next year (1375), the Minister-general further showed his sympathy with the Reformers by enjoining Fr. Peter of Sora, the minister of the province of S. Francis, to take the Observants into his peculiar care. Fr. Peter accordingly wrote to Paoluccio confirming the favours already granted by the Minister-general, and adding that any command or licence addressed by him (the Provincial Minister) to any friar of Paoluccio's "family" was not to be executed without Paoluccio's special order.² The year 1380 was marked by a further advance, for on 12 September the minister of the province of S. Francis delegated his powers of government over the twelve hermitages of the Observants in that province to Paoluccio, who was moreover empowered to appoint his friars to go to any convent in Italy, and also to the place of residence of the Curia (Wadding, IX, 42). A further important concession was made to Paoluccio in 1384, when on 12 February the minister of the province of S. Francis (Fr. William of Asti), authorized Paoluccio, whether personally or through the Guardians of the convents subject to him, to admit novices to the Order (M.F., VI, 115). On 15 July, 1388, Fr. Henry

¹ The document, dated 8 July, 1374, is printed in Wadding (VIII, 299). According to Mariano's "Life of Paoluccio" (M.F., VI, 106), Paoluccio secured *eleven* convents in the first three years from the beginning of his movement.

² The letter is printed in Wadding, VIII, 326, and M.F., VI, 114. "Friars of the Family" was a name applied to Paoluccio's followers (Wadding, l.c.).

Alfieri, the Minister-general, delegated his full powers of government over the fifteen convents or hermitages (twelve in the province of S. Francis, and three in that of the March of Ancona) to Paoluccio, to whom obedience was to be rendered *as to the Minister-general*. By the same instrument¹ Paoluccio was authorized to send his friars temporarily to any place in Italy, Corsica, or Bosnia, including the residence of the Curia; the object of this authorization evidently being to spread the Observant movement as widely as possible.

The great Schism in the Papacy which immediately followed the election in 1378 of Urban VI (the Italian successor of the long line of French Popes) was followed by a corresponding schism in the Franciscan Order; for during the Papal Schism, at least two Anti-ministers-general were appointed to govern the Order in the countries in the obedience of the Anti-pope.² Yet these schisms in nowise hindered the spread of the Observance; for in 1388 the movement was started independently in France and in Aragon (both in the Anti-papal obedience), where it was fostered by the Anti-popes Clement VII and Benedict XIII (Wadding, IX, 80, 81). I may mention that the greater part of Italy (other than the kingdom of Naples) remained faithful to Urban VI, who was strongly supported by the last passionate appeals of S. Catherine of Siena.³

In February, 1390, one convent and two more "places" in the March of Ancona were assigned to Paoluccio's "family,"⁴ and on 8 January, 1391, the Bishop

¹ Printed in Wadding, IX, 79, and M.F., VI, 119.

² Wadding, IX, 17, 23. For the circumstances of the origin of the Papal Schism see E. G. Gardner, "S. Catherine of Siena," 252 ff. (Dent & Co., 1907).

³ Gardner, op. cit., 304 ff.

⁴ Wadding, IX, 90. In the same year the movement spread to Castile; and two years later, to Portugal (Ehrle in "Archiv," IV, 189, n. 4). It had reached Hungary in 1380 (*ib.*).

of Spoleto, as Vicar of Pope Boniface IX (Urban VI's successor) authorized Paoluccio to erect an altar in the church of S. Maria di Visso in the diocese of Spoleto, which church Paoluccio had built.¹ Paoluccio was now advancing in years, and his sight was failing. His fellow-townsmen of Foligno coaxed him from his hermitage at Brugliano to end his days in his native place, which he was the more ready to do, since it had been revealed to him that he would die within the year, and at Foligno. They sent a carriage to fetch him, but he, like a true son of S. Francis, chose to walk, content with his staff and his companion friar. Before leaving the hermitage, hallowed by the memories of his life's work, he groped his way round the little building, kissing its sacred walls. At Foligno he lodged in a cell prepared for him by the Conventuals in their convent; a circumstance eloquent of the success that had already rewarded his loving toil. Here he spent the remaining months of his life, employing the morning in devotion, and the rest of the day in the government and instruction of his friars. He was able, during this time, to make a last pilgrimage to the tomb of S. Francis, and the other holy places of Assisi. The end came after about a fortnight's illness, and, like the dying Francis, he caused himself to be placed on the ground just before he died, covered with some coarse garment.² His body

¹ Document abstracted in M.F., VI, 120.

² Wadding, IX, 92-4. The date of Paoluccio's death is unknown. The document of 8 January, 1391, above referred to, shows that he cannot have died on 17 September, 1390, as stated by Wadding and Ehrle ("Archiv," IV, 190). If the statement (unsupported so far as I know) of the anonymous biographer of S. Bernardino (A.B. XXV, 312) may be relied on, Paoluccio was still living in 1406 (see below, ch. II. p. 102). But this seems unlikely in view of the Bull *Sacré vestræ religionis* referred to below (p. 60). According to Mariano (M.F., VI, 111), he died in 1400.

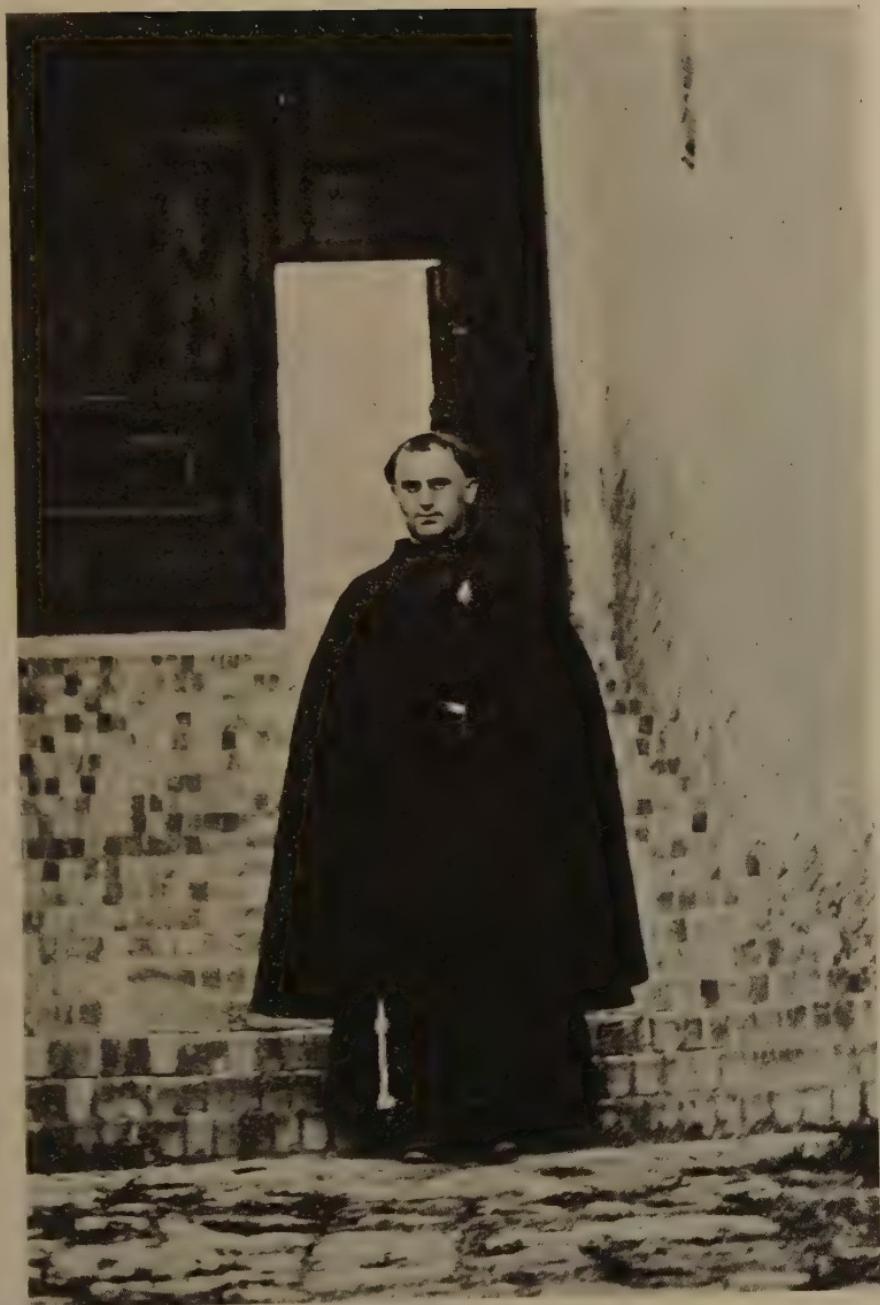
now rests in the parish church of Verchiano near Foligno.¹

He left his new foundation firmly planted in Umbria and extending its influence over all Italy, and, as we have seen, in other countries too. It did not grow with the sensational rapidity of S. Francis's original institution, but with a steadiness which presaged a more enduring future. Fr. Paoluccio's community reposed on the solid basis of spiritual fervour and evangelic poverty buttressed by an unassailable legal status which had been won by a long course of submission to the regular Superiors of the Order. Henceforth, though times of trial and contention were not yet past, the ultimate victory was assured ; and in the attainment of that victory we shall see that a principal part was taken by S. Bernardino.

In Italy, Paoluccio's place was taken by John of Stroncone (above, p. 55) who governed as Vicar the Observant convents in the provinces of S. Francis, Tuscany, and Rome with the full concurrence and co-operation of the Ministers-general and provincial of the Order.² The steady, though somewhat slow, progress of the Observants was facilitated by his kindly and tactful administration : he extended the movement to the province of S. Angelo ; founded the convent of S. Julian near Aquila ; and in Apulia, that of S. Onofrio by Calena. The stability of the new organization is shown especially by the Bull *Sacræ vestræ religionis* (Wadding, IX, 487), addressed by Boniface IX on 23 March, 1403, to John of Stroncone (as Vicar of the Minister-general) and the Friars Minor in the provinces of S. Francis and Tuscany, empowering him and his successors to receive two hermitages in those

¹ See M.F., VI, 120 ff.

² Wadding, IX, 268, 383. It is stated in "L'Umbria Serafica" (M.F., IV, 88), that Paoluccio had instituted John of Stroncone Vicar-general and Commissary over all the Observance in Italy in 1390.



A FRIAR OF THE STRICT OBSERVANCE

provinces, to build churches attached to them, and to hold the premises *in perpetuity*. On 28 July, 1399, we find the Florentine Government writing to the Minister-general and warmly commanding the Observants of the recently founded convent of Fiesole to the favourable consideration of the Chapter-general about to be held at Assisi (Letter in A.F.H., III, 551).

In 1415 a remarkable proof was afforded of the skill with which the movement continued to be directed in Italy, for in that year the cradle of the Order, the holy place of Portiuncula, was assigned by the Minister-general to the friars of the Strict Observance *with the assent of the Conventuals of the province* (Wadding, IX, 381). At this time the number of Observant convents in Italy was thirty-two.¹

In France, i.e. the Franciscan provinces of France, Burgundy, and Touraine, things went less smoothly, and there was a good deal of friction between the Conventuals and the Observants. At length the matter was brought before the Council of Constance, and on 23 September, 1415, *sede vacante* through the deposition of Pope John XXIII, that body issued a Decree whereby in each of the three provinces aforesaid the friars of the Regular (or Strict) Observance were placed under Superiors chosen by themselves but appointed by, and styled, Vicars of the Superiors of the Order. Thus in each province there was a Vicar of the Provincial Minister, and over the whole of the Observant friars in the three provinces there was a Vicar-general of the Minister-general of the Order. (For details see the text of the Decree in Wadding, IX, 371).

The Strict Observance movement was felt much more faintly as well as later in England and Germany than in France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. In England

¹ Hüttebräuker, "Der Minoritenorden zur Zeit des grossen Schismas," p. 42.

the condition of the Order was exceptionally bad ; and the spiritual energy which might have started the reforming movement there had been, to a great extent, drained off by the Wycliffites ;¹ while in South Germany a somewhat similar state of things was produced by the prevalence of the Waldensian and other heretics, which attracted those more earnest spirits who were disgusted by the formalism and worldliness of the Church. The movement was felt later still in North Germany, where the Franciscans were, to a very unusual extent, mixed up with the ordinary population, and engaged in commerce and worldly business (*Hüttebräuker, ib.*).

Untoward as had been the events which caused the status of the Observants in France to be brought before the Council of Constance, still the Council's formal recognition of the new institution greatly increased its prestige. Pope Martin V also (who had been elected in the Council on 11 November, 1417) actively favoured the Observants, whose convents began to multiply everywhere. In Italy, moreover, a fresh influence was now coming into play, which led to an extraordinary development of the movement, viz. the preaching of S. Bernardino. As will be seen below, his renown as a pulpit orator did not begin till 1418. But in the following year, such was the enthusiasm excited by him in Milan on the occasion of his second Lenten preaching there (below, p. 116) that many young men, some being of high position, joined the Observants ; and the citizens converted the insignificant chapel of S. Angelo outside the walls, and an adjacent building, which barely accommodated fifteen persons, into a convent subsequently enlarged so as to contain 100 inmates.² The same

¹ *Hüttebräuker, op. cit., 57, 58.*

² M. Vegio in AA. SS. Maii IV, 759; Al. 165, 166. S. Angelo fuori Porta Nuova was formally made over to the Observants in 1421

story is told wherever he preached, of fresh recruits gathered into the Observant ranks, and of fresh convents taken over, or newly built.

In 1419 or 1420 the Observants obtained possession of the Convent of La Verna, built on that sacred spot which had been the scene of the stigmatization of S. Francis : and in 1420 Pope Martin V gave them his licence to accept a convent which was to be built for them by a son of John I King of Portugal at Ceuta in Africa which that monarch had conquered shortly before. In the course of the next few years we find the friars of the Strict Observance sent by Pope Martin's order to the island of Chios and other places in the Levant, Asia Minor, and Russia, and in due course placed under a Vicar of the Minister-general (Wadding, X, 122).

By the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century the friars of the Strict Observance had greatly extended their influence in the Church, and the numerous Bulls issued by Pope Martin V enabling them to receive convents erected, or to be erected for them, shows the acceptance which their ministrations met with among the faithful.¹

In 1426 we have a further proof of the Pope's sense of the sobriety and sound judgment of the Observants in his appointment of John of Capistrano (see below, p. 65 n. 1) as Inquisitor to proceed against the *Fraticelli dell' opinione* (see above, p. 34 n. 1), and (a few months later) of another Observant friar, James of Monteprandone²

(A.F.H., III, 634). The convent was demolished for military reasons in 1551 and replaced by another erected within the walls.

¹ One of these Bulls was addressed to Bernardino himself (7 July, 1426) and authorized him to receive four convents in different parts of Italy to be provided for his friars (" *Piis supplicum votis*" in Wadding, X, 409).

² Usually known, from his place of origin being in the March of

to preach against them in the March of Ancona (Wadding, X, 101-3).

It will not have escaped the reader's notice that the position of the Observants, though duly authorized, was anomalous. They were indeed the subjects of the Minister-general of the Order, but, since his authority over them was exercised through Superiors of their own choice acting as his Vicars, they were to a great extent independent of the Conventuals. The acts of the Observant Superiors, however, required for their validity the confirmation of the Provincial Ministers of the Order, and, if the latter were unsympathetic, the Observants were still *maxime tribulati* (see "Bern. Aquilani Chron. FF. Minorum Observantiae," 24, 25). In the early days of the movement, when the Observants formed an insignificant fraction of the whole body, this anomalous position caused little difficulty, in Italy at least. By this time, however, the situation was completely changed. All the more earnest and influential among the friars were Observants. Whatever religious influence the Franciscan Order still exercised, was exercised through the Observants. The Conventuals on the other hand were, from a spiritual point of view, the dregs of the Order ; the lazy, worldly, and dissolute friars who were bringing discredit on the Religious life and were the butt of the satirists of Europe. Nevertheless, from a legal point of view, the Conventuals occupied an unassailable position ; and the unworthy jealousy which they felt at the increasing power and influence of their rivals broke out in 1429 into a formal accusation of them before the Pope. Their special grievance was, that the Observants were allowed

Ancona, as James of the March (Jacopo dalla Marca, or dalle Marche). Born in 1391 of humble parents, he had practised as a jurisconsult before becoming a friar of the Strict Observance. His baptismal name was Dominic, but being received into the Order on S. James's day he adopted the name of the Apostle (cf. below, p. 171).

to be under the government of their own Vicars (Wadding, X, 141). The Observants were all summoned to Rome and confined in the convent of S. Francesco-in-Trastevere (AA. SS. Oct. X, 294, 295). The case was tried by a court of three cardinals. John of Capistrano¹ undertook the defence of the Observants, and completely refuted the charges brought against them.² Afterwards a friendly discussion of the points at issue took place round the dinner-table of Cardinal Giordano Orsini, the Protector of the Order, between John of Capistrano and a certain bishop who was the advocate of the Conventuals. The result of the negotiation was, that the Pope determined to fulfil John of Capistrano's desire and have the whole question finally settled in a Chapter-general of the entire Order, so that the excesses of the laxer members might be brought to an end. In the ordinary course, the Chapter would have met at Liége but the place of assembly was changed to Rome and finally to Assisi. The Minister-general of the Order at this time was Fr. Antony of Massa, under whose lax administration the gentle discipline of the Conventuals had wellnigh given way altogether. So incompetent was he that Fr. William of Casale, a Doctor

¹ John of Capistrano (1385 or 1386-1456) was so called from his birthplace in the Abruzzi. His mother was an Italian, his father, as the learned Fr. Bihl has recently discovered (A.F.H., III, 781), bore the German surname of Ghez (Goetz). He was educated at Perugia and attained great distinction as a jurisconsult in the service of Ladislas, King of Naples (1400-14) and afterwards under the Commune of Perugia. In 1416 he assumed the habit of an Observant friar. He studied theology under Bernardino, probably in 1417 (see below, ch. II. p. 108), and became his close friend and most eminent disciple. He was canonized by Alexander VIII in 1689; but the Pope dying before the issue of the Bull of canonization, the canonization was only published in 1724 by Benedict XIII.

² Some interesting details of the proceedings will be found in AA. SS., *ubi supra*.

of Divinity, and Procurator-general of the Order at the Papal Court, was associated with him in the government of the Order as Vicar ; and without the Vicar's consent no changes were to be introduced before the Chapter-general, which met in June, 1430. This chapter was attended not only by the representatives of the Conventuals but by those of the Observants,¹ including the Observants in the French provinces who were subject to the special arrangements made by the Council of Constance (above, p. 61). The assembly was presided over by Cardinal Cervantes, who had been furnished by the Pope with full administrative and disciplinary powers (document in Wadding, X, 148) ; and the result of it was the enactment known as the Martinian Constitutions which were imposed on the Order by the authority of Martin V and adopted by the Chapter-general on 21 June, 1430.² These Constitutions, which took the form of interpretations of the clauses of the Rule, were based on the Decretals *Exiit qui seminat* and *Exivi de paradiſo* (see above, pp. 15, 23) and were designed to bring back the observance of the Rule by the Conventuals to the degree of strictness enjoined by those Decretals, and so to enable the Observants to be amalgamated with the Conventuals, which was in fact the Pope's design. The only relaxation was a declaration that novices were not to be forbidden on entering the Order to give of their own free will some portion of their worldly goods to the friars, "just as to other poor by way of alms". The friars "of the stricter observance" were to receive favourable treatment, but were to be subject to the ordinary Superiors of the Order, the quasi-independent vicariates of the Strict Observance being thus brought to an end.

¹ The Observants normally did not attend the Chapter-general, and had no vote therein ("B. Aquilani Chron.", 25).

² The Martinian Constitutions will be found in full in the "Magnum Bullarium Romanum," I, 308, and Wadding, X, 150.

All the friars present at the Chapter were sworn to obey the Constitutions ; and the Minister-general swore in addition that he would never attempt to procure their repeal (Wadding, X, 150, 161). There is no explicit repeal of John XXII's Decretal *Ad conditorem* (see above, p. 40 n. 5); probably the revival of the decretal *Exiit qui seminat* (see above, p. 16) would be held to repeal it by necessary implication ; anyhow on 23 August, in this same year, 1430, Pope Martin emphatically declares that the whole "right, property and ownership" in the "goods movable and immovable" of the Order is vested immediately in the Holy See.¹

Antony of Massa was removed from the office he had so unworthily filled, but was consoled by being made bishop of his native place, and William of Casale was appointed Minister-general in his stead, with John of Capistrano as his coadjutor. The Chapter-general of 1430 was indeed a signal triumph for Capistrano ; backed by the Pope's authority, his eloquence and resourcefulness had carried all before him (Wadding, X, 150) ; the Martinian Constitutions were drafted by him ; and now with the aid of the new Minister-general he hoped to administer such a purge to the Order that the terms "Friars Minor" and "Friars of the Strict Observance" should become synonymous. Vigorous measures of reform were at once taken ; but Capistrano had miscalculated the strength of the Conventuals, and the fruits of his victory were quickly snatched from his grasp.

No sooner was the Chapter ended than some of the Conventual friars persuaded the Cardinal Legate Cervantes to release them from their oath : the new Minister-general did not give John of Capistrano whole-hearted support ; and under the pressure of the

¹ Letter to the Minister-general (Wadding, X, 164).

laxer friars, the Pope issued on 27 July a *Motu proprio*¹ whereby the stringency of the Martinian Constitutions was relaxed, (a) by increasing the establishment of the Minister-general; (b) by enabling the Minister-general to demand contributions from the Order to defray the expenses of his establishment and office, which thing the Constitutions had forbidden him to do on pain of deprivation; and (c) (a necessary corollary) by releasing the Minister-general from his special oath. A month later (23 August) Pope Martin dealt a still more deadly blow to the purity of the Order by permitting to the friars through their Syndics or Procurators the unlimited enjoyment of real and personal property and of the income thence arising.² It was not (we may suppose) much consolation to John of Capistrano for the Pope's undoing of his work, that his powers as Inquisitor were extended so as to include all heretics "in any regions and climes whatsoever in the world" (Wadding, X, 167).

The death of Pope Martin V early in the following year (20 February, 1431), was an opportune event for the Strict Observance. Great as had been the advantage which had accrued to the movement from his fostering care during the first twelve years of his pontificate, the Observants had clearly nothing more to hope from him now; and his recent surrender to the Conventuals must have obliterated much of their opponents' gratitude.

The new Pope, Cardinal Condulmar,³ who took the name of Eugenius IV, was elected on 3 March. He was a friend of S. Bernardino (see below, p. 165), and of John of Capistrano who had predicted to him his elevation to the Papacy some months before (Wadding, X, 177). Eugenius intimated to Capistrano that his former

¹ "Bullarium," I, 318, Wadding, X, 162.

² Letter to the Minister-general, Wadding, X, 164.

³ Otherwise Condulmer, and Condulmier.

friendship would be to his advantage now. John replied that he asked for nothing but that the Pope would take the Observants into his affection, and restore them to their former position ; for he had found by bitter experience that the attempted amalgamation with the Conventuals had been an impossible dream. Eugenius promised to fulfil his request, and on 15 March annulled the relaxations which his predecessor had made in the Martinian Constitutions, revoked the release of the Minister-general from his oath,¹ and empowered the Observants to hold their own separate Chapter-general at Whitsuntide at Bologna and to appoint their own Vicars as they had been used to do before the Chapter at Assisi.² Furthermore he desired that six of them should be chosen by the Chapter to be his special advisers concerning the suppression of heresy and the contemplated crusade against the Turks, which were to be subjects of deliberation at the Council of Basel, convoked by Pope Martin just before his death. Among the six chosen by the Chapter were John of Capistrano, Jacopo dalla Marca and Albert of Sarteano.³ In this same year the Observants were reinstated in the possession of La Verna from which the Conventuals had forcibly expelled them.⁴

On 1 April, 1432, the Minister-general, William of Casale, appointed Fr. Jacopo dalla Marca, who was then preaching in Hungary, to proceed to Bosnia on his be-

¹ Above, p. 68. On 28 April, 1432, the Minister-general was again released from his oath (Bull in Wadding, X, 506). Ten days earlier Pope Martin's authorization of the unlimited enjoyment by the friars of real and personal property (see above, p. 68) had been restored (Bull in Wadding, X, 511). It was doubtless by this time recognized that any further attempt to make the Conventuals observe the Martinian Constitutions would be futile.

² Wadding, X, 179, 180, "L'Umbria Serafica," M.F., IV. 152.

³ Wadding, *ubi supra*. As to Albert of Sarteano, see below, p. 129.

⁴ *Ib.*, X, 180. See above, p. 63.

half and carry out a thorough reform of the friars there; which he accomplished in three years' time.¹

The Conventuals, as we have seen, had shaken off the bonds of the Martinian Constitutions so far as the repression of abuses was concerned, but they still had the effrontery to claim that those Constitutions, by which the Observants had been subjected to the regular Superiors of the Order, were still in force, not having been expressly repealed; and in the Chapter-general of 1433, which was held at Bologna, they attempted to make good their claim against the Observants in France, Spain, Hungary, and Bosnia; their attempt was however eventually frustrated, and the Observants continued under the government of their own Vicars (Wadding, X, 213, 225).

In 1435, in consequence of the violent dissensions between the Conventuals and the Observants in the French provinces, the question of the status of the Observants in those provinces as settled by the Council of Constance (above, p. 61) was brought before the Council of Basel, which had not yet come to a final rupture with Pope Eugenius. The Minister-general, William of Casale, attended the Council in person and tried to bring about the repeal of the decree of Constance. In this, strange to say, he was supported by John of Capistrano and many of the Italian Observants; for in spite of his experience of the impossibility of a fusion between the two bodies, John of Capistrano, in his extreme anxiety for the achievement of union within the Order, clung to the hope that if the government of the Observants by their own Vicars were abolished, the Conventuals would reform. Bernardino, however, with sounder judgment, tried to dissuade him. "Brother John," he would say, "do not oppose the ultramontane friars [i.e., the French Observants] for it is expedient for them in that country to live under their Vicars." John

¹ Wadding, X, 194, 195.

of Capistrano, however, did not agree with him until bitter experience had convinced him of his error. And then he cried : "I did not understand the situation as well as S. Bernardino : I was carnal, he holy."¹ Finally the Council formally confirmed the decree of Constance (Wadding, X, 235).

It may here be noted that in 1434 the Franciscan convents in the Holy Land were placed under the government of an Observant friar as Guardian by the direct action of Pope Eugenius, in consequence of the previous bad administration of them by the Conventuals (Wadding, X, 225, 532).

The great increase in the number of the Observants in Italy had made it necessary that the government of the Provincial Vicars should be supplemented by an overseer who should be responsible for the regulation of the whole body.² It was John of Capistrano who had suggested this measure to the Pope (Wadding, XI, 31), with whose sanction, on 22 July, 1438, S. Bernardino was formally entrusted by the Minister-general, William of Casale (then lying sick at Siena), with the office of Vicar and Commissary on his behalf over the whole body of the Observants in Italy, with full powers of visitation, reformation and discipline.³ On 1 September in the same year the Pope by a *Motu proprio* confirmed this appointment (Wadding, XI, 31, 32). Bernardino was very loath to accept the office ; but the unanimous wish of the friars prevailed, and he was, as it were, compelled to yield to their entreaties. Having assumed

¹ "Chronica Fr. N. Glassberger" in A.F., II. 294.

² This was a return to the original practice. John of Stroncone, like Paoluccio, had been Commissary-general over the Italian Observants till his death in 1418 (see "L'Umbria Serafica" in M.F. IV, 120, 121).

³ According to Mariano ("Comp. Chron. F.F. Min." in A.F.H., III, 713) John of Capistrano had previously been governing the Observant body as Commissary-apostolic on behalf of the Pope.

the office, he set about discharging its duties with energy,¹ and began by a visitation of the province of Penna in the Abruzzi. The necessity for the new system was at once manifest. The Vicar of that province had for a long time been disgusting his subjects by his violent and high-handed behaviour, and Bernardino in the exercise of his new authority deposed him and expelled him from the province. It was during Bernardino's tenure of this office that the last dying echoes of the old dispute about the *arctus usus* were heard (see above p. 24). On 31 July, 1440, Bernardino, as Vicar and Commissary of the Minister-general over the Observants in Italy issued certain authoritative interpretations of the Rule which had been composed by his friend Fr. Nicholas of Osimo when Vicar of the Province of S. Angelo, and approved by the Minister-general, William of Casale, on 2 December, 1439, and commended to the reading of all the friars (Wadding, X, 120). In the preamble Bernardino states that the interpretations had been sanctioned by the Pope, and approved by the Minister-general, by Fr. John of Capistrano "and many others" and by himself.² The most important of these declarations are :—

1. That the counsel "*Nihil tuleritis in via*" (Luke IX. 3) is not binding on the Friars Minor.
2. That the Friars are bound to no other *arctus usus* than is expressed in the Rule ; and that, in conformity with the declarations of Popes Nicholas III and Clement V (see above, pp. 15, 23) a "moderate use" of the things necessary for the sustentation of life and the per-

¹ "L'Umbria Serafica" *ad ann. 1438* (M.F., IV, 155) refers to a disciplinary circular issued by Bernardino from S. Damian by Assisi on 15 August in this year, and to his holding a Chapter-general of the Observants at Portiuncula after the "Pardon," i.e. the Portiuncula Indulgence, to be gained on 1-2 August.

² Wadding, XI, 102. The document is also printed in "Opera" III, 443, with a rather longer preamble.

formance of the duties of their state, money excepted, is declared to be permitted to the Friars by the Rule.

3. That the mere fact of their finding themselves in splendid buildings and such as contained superfluities, for the erection of which buildings and the provision of which superfluities they were not responsible, is not to justify the friars in quitting any convent unless there be other circumstances preventing them from observing the Rule in a spiritual manner.

It is to be noted that these declarations do not go beyond those of the Decretals *Exiit qui seminat* and *Exivi de paradiso*. The third of them is evidently intended to reassure the consciences of Observant friars to whom stately convents of the Conventuals had been transferred.

Bernardino's formal approbation and confirmation of these declarations is dated from S. Damian at Assisi.

The Observant friars, though now very numerous, were, as a body, more distinguished by the fervour of their devotion than by their learning ; there were but few of them who could in any sense be called learned except those who had either been recruited from the Conventuals, or had been students before entering into Religion. For, as Wadding says (XI, 110), in their poor dwellings (*tugariolis*) they were more busy in doing penance and contemplating heavenly things, than in the pursuit of philosophical or theological lore. Bernardino, himself (as we shall see) an expert divine and canonist, perceived that such a state of things must be a serious obstacle to the influence of the Observants.¹ However

¹ One of the grievances of the French Observants in their dispute with the Conventuals at the Council of Basel (above, p. 70) was that they were practically excluded from the universities : the Conventuals would not give up to them any of the Franciscan convents in university towns ; while the laxity prevailing in these convents, especially at Paris, was such that it was impossible for the Observants to keep the rule in its purity there (Glassberger in A.F. II, 297).

the case might have stood with S. Francis and his companions in the hovel at Rivo Torto, it would never do now, amid the onslaughts of reviving paganism and nascent Protestantism, for true religion, in the person of his followers, to walk hand in hand with ignorance. The matter was moreover of pressing importance from another point of view; for the Observants were beginning to be called in as confessors by men in high station (Wadding, l.c.) for whom "discreet and learned ministers" were specially needed. Accordingly, in 1440,¹ Bernardino arranged for systematic instruction in scholastic theology and canon law to be given in the convent of Monteripido near Perugia, and himself inaugurated the studies by a course of lectures on the then very practical subject of Ecclesiastical Censures. The simple friars were appalled, we read (Wadding, l.c.), to learn the immense number of modes in which excommunication might be incurred, and began to be troubled by scruples as to whether they might not have given absolution wrongly, or, worse still, have fallen under excommunication themselves. The case was deemed so grave, that Fr. Nicholas of Osimo consulted Pope Eugenius about it, who thereupon made the friars' absolutions valid, so far as possible, and released them from any censures they might have incurred. Eugenius himself took up the question of the promotion of study among the Observants, and ordered that schools should be established for the instruction of the friars in canon law (Wadding, l.c.) to the end that they might be duly equipped for the exercise of the ministry of penance, and for the conversion of unbelievers whether at home or abroad. We learn from a note by the Conventual Fr. Francis of Rimini that Bernardino (presumably after this incident) deprived all ignorant friars of the power of hear-

¹ "L'Umbria Serafica" in M.F., IV, 156.

ing confessions. Fr. Francis, who was a distinguished divine, and on friendly terms with Bernardino, adds, that this measure aroused strong opposition against Bernardino, and that the aggrieved friars "*articulaverunt eum mirabiliter*," and implies that Bernardino had to obtain the protection of the Pope and the Minister-general against them (see A. G. Little in A.F.H., II, pp. 164, 165).

A curious privilege conferred on the Observants about this time by Eugenius IV throws a side-light on the manner of life in their "*tuguriola*". He granted them that they should not incur excommunication for putting off their habit in order to wash or patch it, or to fish more conveniently in case of need; especially if they did not lay it aside or leave it off in order to dance or commit other unseemly actions (Wadding, XI, 110, 111).

Under this same year (1440) Wadding (l.c.) records a curious attempt on the part of Fr. Nicholas of Osimo to effect a formal separation of the Observants from the Conventuals. During the absence of the Minister-general (William of Casale) in France, Fr. Nicholas persuaded the Pope, whose partiality for the Observants was notorious, to exempt them even from the nominal jurisdiction of the Provincial Ministers, to which they were still subject. The Pope did so, but the resentment of William of Casale on his return was such that the concession had to be revoked. Bernardino disapproved of the ill-judged attempt, as indeed one would expect (Wadding, l.c.), and Fr. Francis of Rimini (see above) says that Bernardino had to imprison one Constantine (a lay-brother of the province of Terra di Lavoro) because of his activity in agitating for the division of the Order. Bernardino's contemporary biographers tell us little about the relations between him and his subjects during his tenure of the office of Vicar-

general, but it seems clear both [from the note of Fr. Francis of Rimini (just quoted) and from some vague but significant words of M. Vegio (AA. SS. Maii IV, 760) that Nicholas of Osimo's movement for the formal separation of the Observants from the Conventuals had considerable support, and that Bernardino's opposition to it was deeply resented, and exposed him to hostile intrigues.¹

About this time Bernardino's health began to give way and he sought to resign his office; but Pope Eugenius would not allow him to do so, and on 10 November, 1440, wrote him an autograph letter, authorizing him to appoint a coadjutor, removable at his pleasure, to aid him in the government of the friars. The letter is printed by Wadding (XI, 100). On 14 February, 1441, he exercised the power conferred on him by appointing John of Capistrano his Commissary in the provinces of Genoa, Milan and Bologna (Wadding, XI, 137).

In 1440 or 1441, we read that Bernardino in his official capacity of Vicar-general "reformed," i.e. transferred from the Conventuals to the Observants, the convents of Montepulciano, S. Processo and Cetona in Tuscany, and sent two skilled friars (*architectos et fabros peritos*) to finish the Observant convent at Constantinople.² At the same time the Pope authorized the acquisition by the Observants of four convents in the province of Milan. The ever-increasing power of the Observants, as attested by the new convents which "were falling into their hands everywhere," caused an outbreak of ill-will on the part of the Conventuals. Bernardino was obliged to summon his deputy, John of Capistrano, in haste from Milan, and a conference took place at Siena in which the dispute, the details of which are unknown,

¹ Vegio's words are: *Nec dico . . . de iis fratribus qui sub observantioris . . . vitae nomine gravia in ipsum multa macchinati sunt.*

² Wadding, XI, 145; Bull, Sen. di Storia Patria I, 65 n. 1.

was composed, largely through the exertions of John of Capistrano (Wadding, XI, 145).

On 2 February, 1442, William of Casale, the Minister-general, died. Though naturally leaning rather to the side of the Conventuals, his government of the Order had been not unsatisfactory, and he was mourned by both parties (Wadding, XI, 156). In the early summer of the same year the Pope at length yielded to the entreaties of Bernardino and released him from the office of Vicar-general,¹ deciding not to fill up the vacancy until the new Minister-general should have been duly elected; and he ordained that the Chapter-general should meet for this purpose in the following year at Padua in the province of S. Antony.

About this time an event occurred which seemed to indicate that the dream of a real union between Conventuals and Observants might come true. The Minister of the Province of S. Antony died, and at the Provincial Chapter in June, 1442, an Observant was elected by ninety-two votes to one to succeed him, none other in fact than Fr. Albert of Sarteano, Bernardino's friend and disciple.² Eugenius's hopes were now raised to the highest pitch³ and he forthwith appointed Fr. Albert Vicar-general of the entire Order (18 July) in the expectation that the Chapter-general in the following year, over which as Vicar-general he would preside, would elect him Minister-general.⁴ At the same time, in anticipation of the happy day when the followers of S. Francis

¹ On his return to Tuscany from Brescia (below, p. 192).

² His one opponent afterwards supported him, as Albert says himself in a letter to Poggio (M. & D., III, 805).

³ The Pope's sentiments are clearly expressed in the Bull appointing Albert Vicar-general (Wadding, XI, 157-9).

⁴ On 1 September, 1442, Albert appointed Fr. John of Capistrano his Commissary over the Ultramontane provinces, an appointment confirmed by the Pope by a Bull dated 1 December (Wadding, XI, 160-2).

should once more be one, the Pope revoked all letters of licence to the Observant (or "Devout") friars for the acquisition of new convents, and of exemption from the jurisdiction of the Minister-general,¹ for, as Wadding says (XI, 169) there was nothing the Conventuals disliked more than the multiplication of Observant convents, especially in places where they themselves were established, since they dreaded the uncomfortable relations likely to exist between the two houses, and the diminution of their own popularity. The Pope's concession to their susceptibility, however, did more harm than good ; and the Bull of revocation was itself revoked on 31 July in the next year, 1443 (Wadding, XI, 447). Albert of Sarteano's position, as an Observant in charge of the government of the entire Order, had been beset with difficulties, as he tells us himself, writing to Poggio on 3 March, 1443.² Poggio had already warned him, through Bernardino, against open and secret foes among his subjects ;³ and when at length the Chapter-general met (May, 1443) its result was very different from that which the Pope and John of Capistrano had so earnestly desired. The assembly was attended by as many as 2000 friars, Conventional and Observant ; and the Conventuals, apparently resenting what they regarded as an attempt on their rivals' part to "capture" the government of the whole Order, raised shouts of "Freedom! freedom!" stirred up a tumult, tore out of Fr. Albert's hands the case containing the Bulls authorizing him to preside, forced him out of the place of meeting, and then, heedless of his protest and warning that they were rendering themselves liable to excommunication, proceeded to elect a Conventional as Minister-general, Fr. Antonio de' Rusconi of Como, a doctor of divinity and Minister

¹ Bull above cited, Wadding, XI, 159.

² M. and D., III, 805. ³ *Ib.* cf. below, ch. III. p. 235 n. 3.

of the province of Milan.¹ Bernardino, who was present, had vainly tried to allay the uproar by urging that Fr. Albert was not moved by ambition, and acknowledging that it was inexpedient that any other Observant should be elected to the post (Wadding, XI, 175, 176). Fr. Francis of Rimini (see above, p. 74) adds that Bernardino himself voted for Antonio de' Rusconi, to prevent Alberto of Sarteano from being appointed; and incidentally testifies to Bernardino's popularity throughout the Order. Bernardino's opposition on this occasion² to the main body of the Observants did, however, undoubtedly stir up amongst them a good deal of ill-will against him, and if we may believe Fr. Francis, the worrying to which they subjected him hastened his death (A.F.H., II, 164, 165 and cf. Maffeo Vegio in AA. SS. Maii, IV, 760). The Pope reluctantly confirmed the election, for fear, as Wadding says (*ubi supra*) of offending the Duke of Milan, to whom he had shortly before been reconciled, by setting aside the election of one of the Duke's subjects who was moreover of noble family. The miscarriage of the Pope's design made it necessary again to determine the status of the Observant members of the Order, and representatives of both parties repaired to Siena, where Eugenius then was³ in order that some settlement might be established. According to Glassberger (A.F., II, 308) the Pope at first determined that the Observants should be placed under a Minister-general of their own; but on the Ultramontane Observants objecting to this arrangement as being tantamount to a

¹ Glassberger in A.F., II, 307, 308. The speech which Fr. Albert delivered, or intended to deliver, at the opening of the Chapter, is printed in M. and D., III, 808.

² Bernardinus Aquilanus (op. cit., 31) says that Bernardino was left almost alone by "our people," i.e. the Observants, in his opposition to the election of Albert of Sarteano.

³ He had arrived there from Florence on 10 March.

formal severance of the unity of the Order, it was at last decided that the Observants should be governed by two Vicars-general, one for the Cismontane, the other for the Ultramontane friars; nominally delegates of the Minister-general, but practically independent of him. Under them the system of Provincial Vicars was to continue as before. Accordingly by instruments executed on 13 July, 1443, the Minister-general formally handed over his authority over the Cismontane Observants to John of Capistrano, and over the Ultramontanes to John of Maubert of the province of France.¹ The nominal supremacy of the Conventual Superiors was safeguarded by a proviso that the Provincial Vicars elected by the Observants should be presented for confirmation to the Provincial Ministers, who, however, were to be bound to confirm them within three days; and similarly the Guardian of an Observant Convent was, on election, to be presented "*more consueto*" to the Provincial Minister. A power of personal visitation was also reserved to the Minister-general; and there was a clause forbidding the transfer of convents from Conventuals to Observants. On 1 August the settlement was confirmed by the Pope (Wadding, XI, 179) and on 8 August the Minister-general issued a supplementary instrument addressed to John of Capistrano whereby the "monasteries and nuns of S. Clara adhering to the Regular Observance" were likewise placed under his authority as Vicar-general (*ibid.*).

Such, then, was the state of the Order when in 1444 Bernardino died after a life of near forty-two years in Religion. During this time he had seen the Observance grow from infancy to maturity, from insignificance to pre-

¹ Wadding, XI, 176, Glassberger in A.F., II, 308. The "Cismontane family" comprised the friars in Italy, Austria, Hungary, Poland and the East; the friars in other countries belonged to the "Ultramontane family" (M.F., XI, 163).

dominance in the Order. Since the day when he had taken upon him the vows of a Friar Minor the Observant convents in Italy alone are computed to have increased from about twenty to over 200, and the number of friars from 130 to over 4000.¹ In pondering these remarkable figures we must (as already said) not forget the strong support given to the movement by Popes Martin V and Eugenius IV, nor the loyal co-operation of John of Capistrano, Albert of Sarteano and James of the March. But it is sufficient to turn over the pages of the "Annales Minorum" to see that these men, holy and devoted to the cause as they were, were of a stamp entirely different from Bernardino's and much less uncommon. They were compacted of the stuff out of which ecclesiastical statesmen and diplomatists, Apostolic Nuncios and Inquisitors are made ; and they were employed to a very large extent in the kind of work which men of this stamp are best fitted to do. But the driving force of the movement came from Bernardino, preaching in the towns and villages of Italy, or shut up in the lowly cell at La Capriola. He loathed official rank and the more worldly side of religious work. The spirit of Francis rested on him ; he wrought directly upon the hearts of men by the power of his unaffected holiness and the constraining influence of his character and preaching. Hence he is truly named the Second Founder of the Friars Minor, for he made the Order, through the Strict Observance, once more a religious power in the Church, and rekindled it with a fire which has never since been quenched.

The subsequent complicated story of the Order does not concern us² ; but it may be mentioned that a complete fusion of its component parts has never been attained. On the contrary, fresh subdivisions have taken place within it, notably the formation of the Capuchin

¹ Capistrano's "Life of S. Bernardino" ("Opera, S.B.," I, xxxix).

² There is a good epitome of it in M.F., XI, 161 ff.

body in the sixteenth century. The status of the Order is now regulated by the Constitution *Septimo jam pleno sæculo* issued by the present pontiff, His Holiness Pius X, on 4 October, 1909.¹ The Order now consists of the following parts : (1) The Friars Minor of the Leonine Union comprising the former Observants, Reformed Observants, Alcantarins, and Recollects, which bodies were amalgamated by Leo XIII in 1897. (2) The Friars Minor styled "Conventuals". (3) The Friars Minor styled "Capuchins".

¹ Text in M.F., XI, 166.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIFE OF S. BERNARDINO.

S. BERNARDINO belonged to the distinguished family of the Albizzeschi of Siena.¹ His father Tollo had been appointed in 1377 by the Commune of Siena governor of the town of Massa Marittima, a considerable place near the coast, about thirty miles south-west of Siena, which had been incorporated into the Sienese dominions in 1335. An uncle of Tollo, after holding the same appointment on three several occasions, had settled at Massa, and left his property to Tollo. About the time of Tollo's coming to Massa a member of another distinguished Sienese family, Bindo degli Avveduti, who had filled similar offices in other towns subject to Siena, retired to end his days at Massa, his native place. He had two daughters, Diana, who had been some time married, and Nera (Rainera). Desiring to see Nera happily settled, his thoughts turned to Tollo Albizzeschi, whose character, rank, and fortune equally recommended him as a son-in-law. Tollo, on his side, was well content with the alliance, and so after his term of office was over he took to wife Bindo's daughter Nera, and on 8 September, 1380, the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, their son, the future Saint, was born at Massa. Speaking in 1427 of this he says ("Pred. Volg." II, 241): "I am called Bernardino,

¹ The primary authority for the story of S. Bernardino until his entrance into the Franciscan Order is the Life by Leonardo Benvoli of Siena. On this and the other fifteenth century biographies of S. Bernardino see Appendix I.

which is derived from S. Bernard, who was so devoted to the Virgin Mary"; and it may well be that, as is hinted by the author of the "Franceschina,"¹ this name may have suggested itself to his parents, who are said to have been special votaries of the Virgin, as recalling him whom Dante styles "the votary of the Queen of Heaven" ("Par." XXXI, 102). The child soon lost his parents' care;² for his mother Nera died when only in her twenty-second year, in 1383; and three years later (1386) his father died also. Tollo, on the death of his wife, had entrusted the bringing up of Bernardino to her sister Diana, now a widow; and after Tollo's death, Diana also became responsible for the management of her nephew's property. She put him to school at Massa, where he soon made progress in Latin; and we also learn that he displayed a notable skill with his hands. She cared too for his religious instruction; but here not much trouble was needed, for the boy had that happy genius for piety which we sometimes meet with. His tenderness of heart was soon displayed; for one day when his aunt told him that she could give no food to a beggar, since in that case there would be nothing left for dinner, the little boy asked that his own dinner might be given to the beggar. A reminiscence of these childish days may perhaps be traced in "Pred. Volg.," I, 360, where Bernardino tells his hearers that the fig-tree in Luke XIII. 6-9 was of a particular sort for which Massa was famous. For five years he remained in his aunt's charge; but after her death in 1391 he was brought to Siena and put under the care of his father's brother, Cristofano degli Albizzeschi and his wife Pia, who had no children of their own.³ It was probably thought that

¹ See M.F., IV, 147.

² Tollo and Nera continued to live at Massa after the death of Bindo, which occurred not long after Nera's marriage.

³ His father also had a brother named Angelo. The author of



PORTRAIT OF S. BERNARDINO BY SANO DI PIETRO
(*Palazzo Pubblico, Siena*)



so promising a boy would have better chances of improvement in the capital than in the remote country-town where he had lived hitherto. Siena, in fact, was one of the foremost cities of Italy, though her importance, both commercial and political, was declining ; and the surrender of her government in 1399 to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (though his rule only lasted four years), was a premonition of the end of her existence as a sovereign power.

Bernardino was now a citizen of Siena and ever afterwards gloried in the name. "O my citizens of Siena, I too belong to you, and speak to you with great love," he cried, out of the fullness of his heart, in one of his sermons ("Pred. Volg." I, 85). The rulers of Siena on their side never ceased, as we shall see, to show the affection and high regard in which they held him. One of the most noteworthy instances of this is a letter they wrote to him on 24 October, 1437, begging him to revisit Siena, and saying that if they could get their wish he would stay with them always : they would be specially glad of his consolation in the present time of pestilence ; if he cannot come, they trust he will come and preach next Lent.¹

Bernardino's education was now entrusted to a schoolmaster named Onofrio. Both in his studies and in his conduct he surpassed his companions ; while his future career was foreshadowed by his spending his play time in building and decorating toy altars in his uncle's house,² and repeating to his schoolfellows, as

the "Vita ex Surio" ("Opera," I, xvii) says that Bernardino's uncles fetched him to Siena when he had attained his thirteenth year, i.e. in 1393. This is also stated in the Cologne (1483) edition of L. Benuglienti's "Life" (see A.B. XXI, 57).

¹ Archivio di Stato in Siena : "Concistoro Copialettere," n. 1649.

² In 60 "De Evangelio Aeterno" ("Opera," II, 399) Bernardino

well as he could, the sermons he had heard in church. That they should have been willing to listen, is certainly a proof, were any such needed, of the natural charm of manner which made him even then, as we are told, a general favourite, and was the secret of the extraordinary influence he exerted in later life on all who came into contact with him. Maffeo Vegio, for instance (Wadding, X, 15), in mentioning how Bernardino once lost his way and had to knock up a peasant and his family in the middle of the night to beg for shelter, speaks of the intense delight with which the man, his wife and his children received Bernardino and ministered to the wants of him and his companion (Maffeo's informant).

When his studies were still further advanced, Bernardino was placed under Giovanni di Buccio, known as Giovanni da Spoleto, described as "an eminent teacher of moral philosophy" by L. Benvoglienti, who was also a pupil of his, and to whom Giovanni often said that he had never had a pupil of higher attainments than Bernardino. Giovanni was also employed in lecturing on Dante in the University of Siena; and we may reasonably suppose that under him Bernardino acquired that knowledge of Dante which we know him to have possessed (see below, p. 232). He had felt the fascination of other poets too in these early days, as he told his Florentine hearers in 1425; but the Epistles of S. Jerome weaned him from poetic fancies and led him to the study of God's word which thenceforth delighted him more than the poets (Hefele, 89). And so, after studying under Giovanni da Spoleto for several years he applied himself to mastering Canon Law and Theology.¹

Even as a boy Bernardino had shown by action

alludes to this as a common habit among children, and takes it as an indication that the religious sense is innate.

¹ See further as to Bernardino's attainments below, pp. 232-6.

what manner of spirit he was of. One day a Sienese of some social position but of dissolute character accosted the boy in the Campo at Siena by the fountain and made indecent overtures to him. Filled with righteous anger, Bernardino struck out at him, and, though not tall enough to reach his face, he managed to deal him such a blow under the chin that it was heard a long way off. The man slunk away, and some years afterwards L. Benvoglienti saw him, while Bernardino was preaching at that same place, shedding tears of compunction, "as if he were being severely scourged". Another time he was again molested in the Campo in the same way by a foreigner, whom he could not so easily get rid of; so after taking counsel with some of his playmates, he decoyed the man out of the Campo and then, with his companions' aid, fell upon him with a shower of stones, and drove him ignominiously away.

At the age of seventeen (A.D. 1397) Bernardino came in a special way under the influence of his cousin, Tobia, daughter of his mother's sister Diana, and widow of Guido Bettolla of the family of the Tolomei, one of the most eminent in Siena. This lady belonged to the Third Order of S. Francis, and was distinguished by her piety, asceticism, and deeds of charity to strangers, the poor, and prisoners. She charged herself with the practical religious training of her young cousin, taking him with her to church, and on her errands of mercy. In particular she urged upon him the perils of the flesh and the excellence of virginity. We may note in passing that beside the gift of personal charm and that of good looks, Bernardino possessed the greater and rarer gift of purity, and love of all that is of good report. Any immodest talk caused him such visible distress that his boyish companions abstained from such when he was by. One day, in order to tease his good cousin, Bernardino confessed that he had a mistress who had stolen his heart.

We may imagine the feelings of the saintly widow, especially when, shortly afterwards, he told her he was going at once to see his beloved, and that he would not rest that night until he had gazed upon her lovely face. "Where does she live?" cried the anxious Tobia. "She is the noblest and fairest girl in Siena, and lives outside the gate of Camollia." More and more perplexed, for Bernardino's conduct was, to all appearance, irreproachable, Tobia went one day to the gate and placed herself in hiding, that she might see into what house her cousin would go. But soon her trouble was removed, and she saw that the object of his devotion was no other than the picture of the Blessed Virgin painted above the gate, before which he went to pay his daily homage. And then he told her that it was indeed the Mother of God toward whom God had implanted in his heart that deep devotion. "It is she only that I love, and long to behold. But, since it may not be so in this life, at least I will revere her shadow, or painted semblance, outside the Camollia gate."¹ And long afterwards, we are told

¹ L. Benvoglienti gives some further details, as that Tobia at first treated the affair as a joke, and that she went three times to watch Bernardino, taking a friend (*quandam spiritualem*) with her the third time. The picture was placed over an arch in the *Antiporto*, a fortified gateway a short distance outside the Camollia gate. The writer of an anonymous article in "Miscellanea Storica Senese," vol. II (1894), pp. 3-8, gives strong reasons for believing that the picture of the Madonna attributed to Simone di Martino (d. 1344) over one of the altars in the Church of S. Lucia at Siena is the very picture to which Bernardino was so devoted. It is painted on wood, and the writer states that at the back of it he read the following inscription: "*Prima deiparae Virginis delineatio, quam Simon Senensis supra exteriorem Camolliae portam A.D. MCCCVIII pinxit. Sanctus postea Bernardinus ab adolescentia sua sibi amicam exquisivit.*" The picture has been in S. Lucia since 1657. It was surrounded when on the Antiporto by other paintings in fresco. The Antiporto was rebuilt in 1675-82 and the faded frescoes still to be seen there are of that period. An effigy of the Madonna placed very high up, under glass, and nearly invisible, is a copy of the picture in S. Lucia (art. above cited).

that whenever he preached about the Blessed Virgin, a seraphic radiance transfigured his face, as John of Capistrano in his life of S. Bernardino says he had himself observed.¹ “ Bernardino (we read) continued for many years to visit this painting, and when he had now grown old in monastic life he visited it not seldom, as his companions testify” (A.B., XXI, 66).

Bernardino himself seems to date the beginning of his spiritual life from his fifteenth year, as may be gathered from No. 34 of the “Seraphin” sermons.² Teaching, as he sometimes did, by parables, he there likens the condition of men in this world to that of the inhabitants of a city who should be compelled by its ruler to quit the city on a certain day by leaping over a wide, deep moat on pain of being hanged. The preacher shows how those who were anxious to escape would be diligent to practise their jumping against the appointed day ; and adds : “ But thou thyself, Bernardino, *who hast now been practising twenty-eight years* for the jump over that pit, and hast refused to have wife or children, or wealth, that thou mayest jump the more nimbly, what wilt thou do ? I greatly fear that . . . my efforts may be lost, for that leap is a very doubtful one.” The sermon was preached in 1423 (see below p. 224 n. 1), and twenty-eight years reckoned backward from then gives 1395 as the date when he “ began to practise for the jump ”.

About 1398 he joined the Confraternity of the Madonna, originally known as that of the *Flagellanti*, and later, the *Disciplinati*—significant names—whose chapel was situate beneath the great Hospital of S. Maria della Scala, with which, however, the Confraternity was not otherwise connected.

The members of the Confraternity employed themselves in ascetic and devotional observances and in the

¹ “Opera,” I, xxxix.

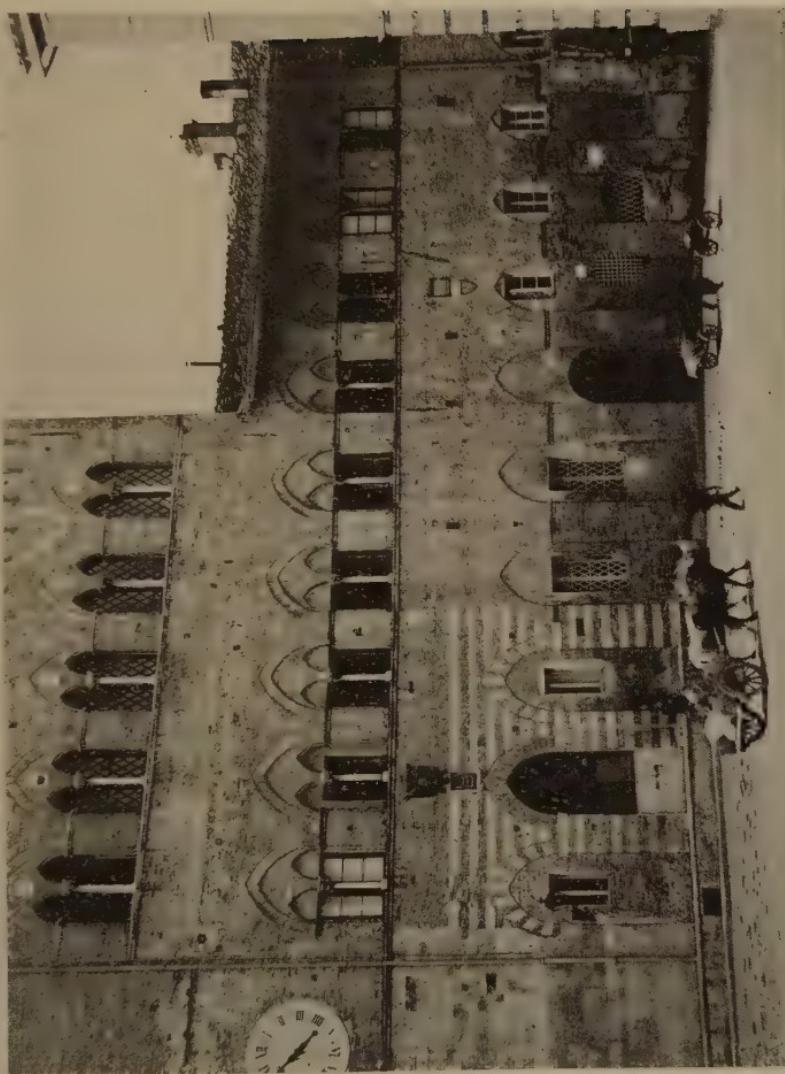
² *Ib.*, III, 256.

relief of the sick and poor.¹ Many men illustrious by their sanctity had belonged to it, especially Bernardo Tolomei and Giovanni Colombini, the respective founders of the religious communities of the Olivetani and the Gesuati. In those days, true religion apart from asceticism was well-nigh inconceivable, and Bernardino was not backward in afflicting his flesh with scourging and sack-cloth, even in excess of the demands made by the rules of the Confraternity. Yet it is needless to say that he was most careful in shunning all ostentation and singularity ; and, however severe the secret chastisement he inflicted on his body, it was never allowed to diminish the natural gaiety and charm of his behaviour to all men. In his concluding sermon at Siena in 1427 he entreated his fellow-citizens not to suffer the Confraternity, of which he boasted that he had been a member, to fail, adding that he had never seen any similar association elsewhere that had done so much good ("Pred. Volg.", III, 503).

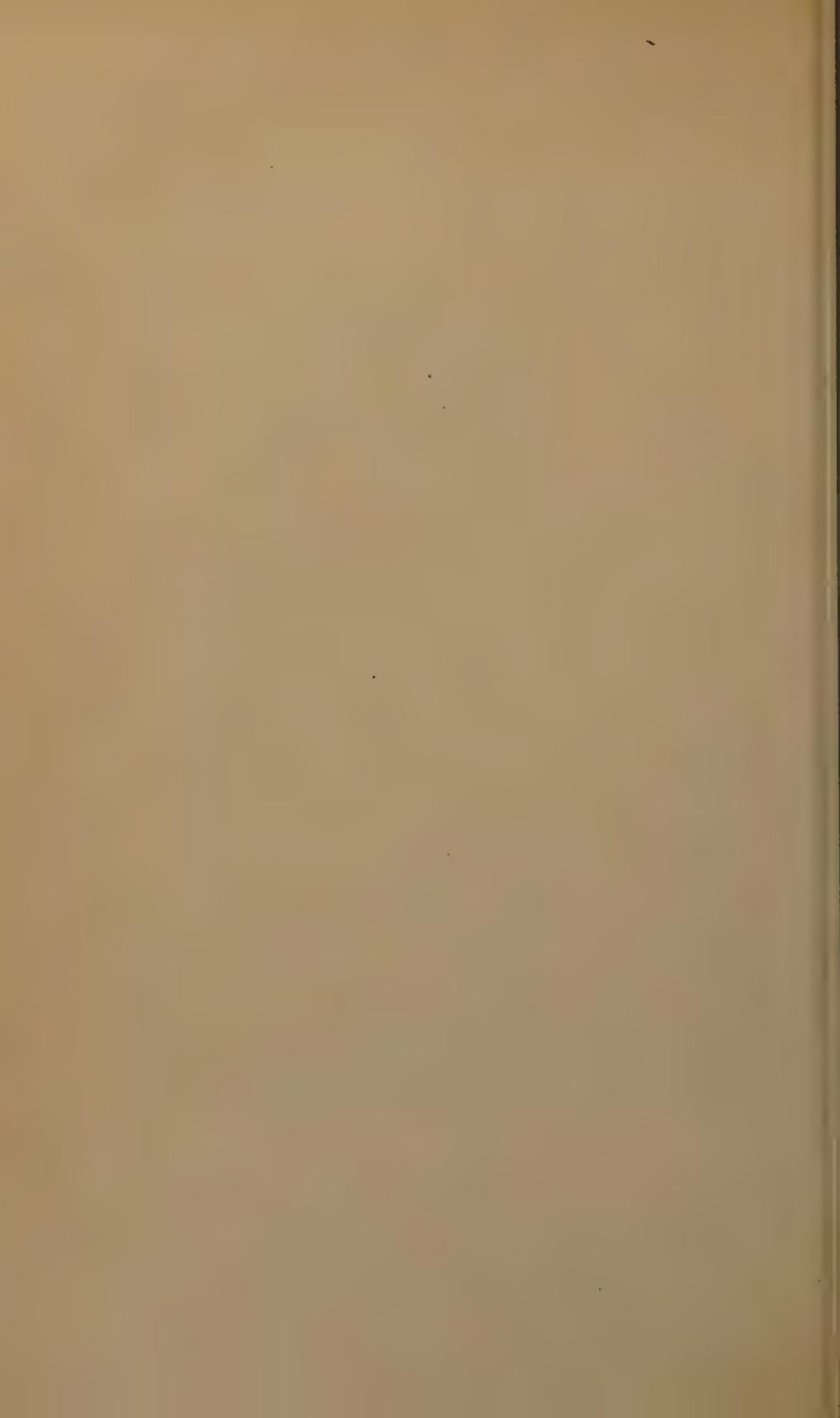
In 1400, the year of the jubilee proclaimed by Pope Boniface IX, while Siena was crowded with pilgrims of all nations passing through on their way to share in the spiritual privileges to be enjoyed in the holy city, the plague broke out with extraordinary violence. The hospital of S. Maria della Scala² was crowded to excess,

¹ For further information, see Gigli, "Diario Sanese" (ed. 1854), Parte I, pp. 447 ff., and N. Mengozzi, "Il Monte dei Paschi di Siena e le aziende in esso riunite. Note Storiche," Vol. VI, p. 577 (Siena, Lazzeri, 1891-1909).

² This hospital, one of the most noteworthy and opulent charitable institutions of the Middle Ages, and happily still flourishing, had been founded at the end of the eleventh century by the Canons of the Cathedral. It was served by lay "brethren" and "sisters". After a long contest between the "brethren" and the Canons for the control of the charity, and particularly for the right to appoint the Rector, the Government stepped in, declared the Hospital to be their property and assumed in 1374 the right to appoint the Rector. See Luciano Banchi, "Statuti senesi," III, vii. ff. (Bologna, 1877).



THE HOSPITAL OF S. MARIA DELLA SCALA, SIENA



but it was nearly impossible to get any to minister to the sick, such was the universal dread of that hideous scourge, and such the awful condition of the hospital, where sick and dying lay huddled together untended. In one of his sermons preached in 1427 ("Pred. Volg.," III, 266) Bernardino alludes to the fires kept burning in order to diminish the stench. He now put in practice the lessons he had learnt from his cousin Tobia, and not only tended the plague-stricken victims himself, but induced twelve of his friends to share in the work, which was indeed, as Wadding remarks (X, 31), a noble kind of martyrdom. The anonymous biographer in A.B., XXV, says, however (p. 307), that Bernardino devoted himself to this task *quodam humano timore perterritus*, in fulfilment of a vow that he would minister to the sufferers in the hospital for six months, provided he might escape the infection himself.

The Rector of the hospital, Giovanni Ghiandaroni, realizing his own incompetence to cope with the emergency, put the entire charge of the establishment into the hands of Bernardino, young as he was; and it is clear that he gave on this occasion ample proof of his power of organization and management. He seemed ubiquitous; he fulfilled in his own person the offices of nurse, doctor, dispenser, and chaplain; above all, he lightened the burden of the sufferers by his unfailing cheerfulness and sympathy. He wept with the sorrowing, we are told, but sometimes also he would laugh and sing, suiting his behaviour to the condition of the patient with whom he happened to be. A prayer to the Virgin, said to have been composed and written out by him, is preserved among the Archives of the Hospital.¹

After the abatement of the pestilence, Bernardino

¹ D. Barduzzi, "Del governo dell' ospedale di Siena," p. 217 of vol. of "Conferenze," published by the Commissione Senese di Storia Patria (1895). The prayer is printed in Olmi, p. 37.

was himself taken ill in the house of his friend Ildebrando de' Manetti, and for four months was laid low by fever, during which time his patience in the endurance of sickness equalled the devotion with which he had tended others ; and we are told that what distressed him most was the trouble he was giving to his nurses, Giustina de' Manetti and his cousin Tobia. On his recovery, he devoted himself for some months to his blind and bedridden old aunt, his father's sister, Bartolommea, widow of Tragliardo de' Tolomei, whom he affectionately called his mother ("Pred. Volg.", III, 501). She, like the other women of his family, was eager for the spiritual welfare of her nephew. "Choose the good," she would say to him (*ib.*), "and not the bad; for you must give account to God for the good you might have done, and not for the bad that some one else is doing." She urged him to join the Mendicant Order of the Augustinian Hermits in the convent of Lecceto near Siena, by whose rule she herself had lived. He had serious thoughts of doing so, but when it came to the point, he could not make up his mind to leave her so long as she should still require his services ; and he continued with her till her death.¹ There is reason to think that it was from this holy woman that Bernardino was inspired with that devotion to the name of Jesus which from the first was a prominent feature in his preaching.

Bartolommea's death left Bernardino free to devote himself more directly to God's service ; but he could not at first decide how to carry out his purpose. And here let him tell his own story. "A wish came to me to live like an angel, I don't say, like a man. . . . The idea came to me that I would live on water and herbs, and I thought I would go and dwell in a wood. And I began

¹ It is tempting to speculate on what would have happened had Bernardino thrown in his lot with the Augustinians, from whom, as we shall see, he was to suffer such bitter persecution.

to say to myself : ‘What will you do in a wood? What will you eat?’ I made answer to myself saying : ‘That will be all right, I will live as the holy fathers did ; I will eat grass when I am hungry, and when I am thirsty I will drink water.’ And so I determined to do ; and, in order to live according to God, I determined likewise to buy a Bible, and a cloak¹ to wear ; and I bought the Bible, and I went to buy a goat-skin so that the water should not come through and wet the Bible. And I went about thinking where I might roost, and I determined to go as far as Massa, looking out. And as I was going through the valley of Boccheggiano I looked now at one hill and now at another ; now into one wood, now into another ; and I kept saying to myself : ‘Oh, this place will do well !’ ‘Oh, this will do still better !’ ”² But at last he came back to Siena and retired to a house of his own—known as Casa degli Orti—near the Tufi gate, where he built a small oratory and for a while lived a hermit’s life, dividing his time between devotion, ascetic observances, and the study of theology. Still resolved to live “like an angel” he went out one day “to gather a salad of sow-thistles and other herbs”; and after scraping and washing them, “In the name of blessed Jesus,” he says, “I began with a mouthful of sow-thistle, and, putting it into my mouth, set about chewing it. Chew! chew! it would not go down. Unable to swallow it, ‘Come,’ I said, ‘let us drink a sip of water’. Faith! The water went down ; but the sow-thistle was left in my mouth. . . . And so, with a bit of sow-thistle I got rid of all temptation ; for I know well enough now that it *was* a temptation. . . . But how about S. Francis who fasted forty days and ate nothing? He might

¹ *Schiavina*, a long garment made of coarse cloth and worn by pilgrims and hermits.

² “Pred. Volg.,” II, 351, 352, where he playfully calls this experience “his first miracle”.

do it, but I can't. And I tell you I would not do it, and would not like God to make me want to do it."¹ The deep impression made on Bernardino by his early experience of the futility of excessive mortification of the body was never effaced ; and the mischief wrought by such extravagance was a matter on which he insisted from first to last. In the second sermon, "De inspirationibus" ("Opera," III, 127), for instance, he traces it to its root of spiritual pride.² In the fourth sermon ("Opera," III, 147) he returns to the same topic and says : "To take up the cross in a way that the body cannot bear, is not an inspiration of God, but a temptation of the devil ; and the reason is, that God hates none of the things He has made ; wherefore He hates not our body, but loves it, and would have us love it, and preserve it for His honour, and not destroy it, nor give it a burden it cannot bear : . . . and though the Saints appear to have done great things, etc. [sic], I say that they are to be admired, but not to be copied in everything. For the judgment is not between us and the Saints, but between God and us : the question will be, whether we have fulfilled His commands to the best of our ability ; not whether we have done what the Saints did."

At length, fortified by a vision, and by the wise counsel of Fr. Giovanni Ristori, who had spent many years in preaching among the Manichæan heretics of Bosnia, Bernardino determined to enter the Franciscan Order. The vision just mentioned was this : he saw himself in a wide unilled field with a high tower in it. From a window in the tower flames were pouring forth, and amid them a woman with her hair loose and hands outstretched cried three times "Francis !" Ber-

¹ "Pred. Volg.," II, 353.

² These sermons were written toward the end of his life. See Appendix II. p. 355.

nardino sometimes used to speak of this vision and said that it still seemed as vivid as if it had been a real occurrence. The field (he said) was the world; the tower, God; the fire, the Holy Ghost; the woman, Religion, or the Church.¹

The anonymous biographer in A.B. XXV (p. 309), does not mention Fr. G. Ristori, but says that Bernardino first consulted "a certain venerable hermit then staying at Siena" who suggested his applying to "some father of one of the approved Orders," and that thereupon Bernardino consulted "a famous father named Galgano of Siena . . . as I have heard from him (i.e. Bernardino) himself: and whereas that province [i.e. the Franciscan province of Tuscany] had long been ruled by him, and he was the most learned of men, yet he would never be styled 'Master'".² It was (according to this authority) on Fr. Galgano's advice that Bernardino resolved to become a Friar Minor: and this is supported by the edition of L. Benvoglienti's "Life," published at Cologne in 1483 (see A.B. XXI, 57) where we read that Bernardino was received into the Order *per manus . . . Johannis Ristoriae rev*m*i patris Galganensis tunc ministri ac prædicatoris famosissimi* (*ib.*, p. 73).

But before entering the Order, Bernardino must divest himself of all his property, and accordingly on 31 August, 1402, he executed a deed³ whereby for the salvation of his soul, the cleansing of his sins, and the salvation of the souls of his relations, and the love of God, he conveyed a considerable tract of land (wooded

¹ Maffeo Vegio, c. II (AA. SS. Maii IV, 753).

² Fr. Galgano (of Massa) was the Commissary, for Siena and district, of Fr. Marcovaldo, the Provincial Minister of Tuscany. (Amadio, p. 55; ed. 1854).

³ Printed in full in "Miscellanea Storica Senese," Vol. III (1895), p. 40.

and agricultural) in the neighbourhood of Massa, with a foundry on it to Giorgio Perini as agent for Battista di Taschino, a nun in the monastery of S. Clara at Massa (cf. above, ch. I., p. 40, n. 4). From the conveyance is excepted "a parcel of ground within the said boundaries commonly called '*il campo di Tollo*,'" and there is a proviso that if the land is alienated for valuable consideration, one third of the price is to belong to the convent of S. Francis at Massa.¹ The deed is interesting as showing how the Conventuals (whom Bernardino was about to join) now interpreted their Founder's rule that a novice must give up his property to the poor.² Bernardino had, however, other possessions than this land, and these he did bestow in alms and in the portioning of poor maidens (A.B. XXI, 73). On his birthday, 8 September, 1402, Bernardino, pursuant to a resolution passed by the Convent-Chapter three days before ("Pred. Volg.," I, iv. n. 2), was received as a novice and assumed the Franciscan habit ("Pred. Volg.," II, 240). He soon found that life in the convent of S. Francis at Siena, with its frequent distractions, caused by the visits of lay-people, and in particular of his own relations, was not a favourable preparation for that career of consecrated service on which he was bent, especially as there is reason to think that some of his kinsfolk tried to turn him from his purpose. One of them told him that "a cowled monk was the same thing as a fatted swine";³ and, indeed, when we remember how the prevailing slackness and luxury of the friars had made them a byword among the

¹ The value of the property exceeded 1000 florins, a sum which, as I am informed by Comm. Lisini, the learned director of the Archivio di Stato at Siena, roughly amounts to 140,000 *lire* of the present day, say about £5600.

² Cf. above, ch. I. p. 24.

³ "Vita ex Surio" ("Opera," xxii).

people, it is likely that the talented and fascinating Bernardino seemed to be throwing away all chance of honourable distinction by joining such a community; not to mention the annoyance which the renunciation of his fortune would cause to his relations.

For the reasons here indicated, Bernardino, by the advice of Fr. Giovanni Ristori determined to join the friars of the Strict Observance and was accordingly sent after a short time¹ to the convent of Il Colombaio, near Seggiano on the slopes of Monte Amiata some thirty-five miles south-east of Siena, the Guardian of which was Fr. John of Stroncone (see above, p. 60) who had been placed there by Fr. Paoluccio de' Trinci (Al., 89). Thus Bernardino was brought into the line of true spiritual descent from S. Francis, which has been traced in the preceding chapter. In the seclusion of Il Colombaio he found himself at last in the atmosphere for which he had been craving. Here he gladly performed the humblest duties, and, as usual, won the respect and affection of all with whom he had to do. He tended the sick, and even as S. Francis had done, went about barefoot, sometimes for long distances, in search of alms. He tells us ("Pred. Volg." III, 311) some of his own experience in this kind. Speaking of the duty of cheerful giving, he says: "A poor man, or a friar asks an alms. 'Oh, wait a while,' says the person whom he is applying to. And sometimes he will keep him waiting half an hour; and then, after making him suffer, will throw a loaf at him out of the window, which sometimes hits him on the head. This I can vouch for, for when I used to go about begging, a woman threw a loaf at me in that way, which caught me on the finger and hurt me very much." Another reference to his first experiences of monastic life occurs in 15 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 194); "Don't

¹ Two months, according to "L'Umbria Serafica" (M.F., IV, 93). L. Benvoglienti says "a few days," which is much less likely.

think (he says) as many do, that Religious have a good time as regards the flesh : for, if they do as they ought, fleshly temptations are the least they have ; and a greater trial (though you might not think so) is for men of different temperaments to learn to get on together. Some are naturally melancholy, others ill-tempered, others merry ; some are young, some old ; and you have to adapt yourself to the dispositions of them all, which is very difficult, unless you have tact." Yet he never regretted the step he had taken ; and remained firmly convinced that the life of a friar of the Strict Observance was (in his own words) "a heavenly life," and that "every congregation of God's servants acting up to their profession might be called a little paradise on earth" (16 "De Christ. Rel.," "Opera," I, 73). At Il Colomboia, then, he completed his novitiate, and on the first anniversary of his reception into the Order, 8 September, 1403, he took upon him the full vows of a Friar Minor ("Pred. Volg.," II, 240). In the course of the ensuing year he received the minor clerical Orders and the diaconate, and when the feast of the Virgin's Nativity again came round, he was ordained priest and celebrated his first Mass¹ on 8 September, 1404. In 1405 he was commissioned to preach by the newly elected Minister-General of the Order, Fr. Antonio da Perreto,² and he preached his first sermon on the anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood ; though he appears to have given a less formal address on the occasion of his first

¹ AA. SS., Maii IV, 723 ; Wadding, IX, 255. To the period of Bernardino's residence at Il Colomboia belongs the story of the lewd advances made to him by the wife of one of the citizens of Siena (whose house he had visited to beg for bread), of his pretended compliance, and of the sound whipping he inflicted on the temptress (Wadding, IX, 269).

² Mariano, "Compendium Chronicarum FF. Min." in A.F.H., III, 705.

Mass the year before (Wadding, IX, 268). The pulpit in which he preached for the first time is preserved in the sacristy of the church of the Observants at Montalcino, about twenty miles south-east of Siena (Olmi, 304).

Of the beginning of Bernardino's career as a preacher the anonymous biographer in A.B., XXV (p. 310), gives us some very interesting particulars. His earliest attempts were made in the towns in the immediate neighbourhood of Il Colombaio. On one of these occasions he was accompanied by two companions ; they took a large rough cross with them, which they carried by turns, having stript off their habits (doubtless on account of the heat). When they reached their destination, which they did "*satis velocius*" they all ascended the pulpit "and fervently uttered whatsoever the Spirit of the Lord prompted them". It was clearly an unusual proceeding, for we read that Bernardino was "filled more vehemently than he was wont to be with fraternal charity and longing for the salvation of souls redeemed by Christ's blood". The occurrence brought to his mind a dream he had had while still in the world. "He seemed to be in the upper part of the house of a certain fraternity and to be there discoursing with some of that society about the divine and burning love of Jesus Christ. Meanwhile he seemed to be taking with his own hands a cross prepared for him ; and, as he went down to the lower part of the house, he, bathed in tears, was carrying that cross with such fervour and such devotion that it turned all the beholders to wailing and to compassion for Jesus Christ ; as he afterwards related to some of the friars and to me also [the biographer]."¹ This outburst of holy fervour was followed by deep depression. He was longing to fulfil the office of preaching that had been laid upon him ; but he felt utterly unfit for the work. "I have never heard any preachers yet!" he cried. He had his own ideal within him of what preach-

ing ought to be, and felt that it must be something very different from the discourses usually delivered in the pulpit, if the hearers' hearts were to be reached. As the same biographer says : "In those days, before God's servant Bernardino came, preachers did not deliver the word of God simply and without display, but seemed rather to be reading a lecture or reciting a formal oration".¹ To put the matter shortly, Bernardino felt that God was calling him to work a revolution in the pulpit, and in his extreme humility and diffidence he shrank from the task. The biographer last quoted tells us that he had heard from one who had been present, that Bernardino mounted the pulpit three times before he could deliver even one sermon perfectly. Similarly Maffeo Vegio (AA. SS., Maii IV, 754) tells us that Bernardino used to relate that when he preached his first sermon, which was at Seggiano, he was so overcome with nervousness that he could scarcely get through it. Injudicious friends moreover indulged his weakness, and strove to dissuade him from the arduous career of a preacher, urging his delicate health, and, in particular, a weakness and hoarseness of voice which would make him inaudible at a distance. For deliverance from this infirmity, however, he prayed earnestly to God ; and it was removed ; it is said, by a miracle. "God," we read (Wadding, IX, 268) "through the intercession of His Mother . . . sent a little ball of fire whereby the hoarseness of his tongue was drawn out (*excocta*) and cured". Ludovico da Vicenza (AA. SS., Maii IV, 729) says that the ball (*globus igneus*) was invisible. In any case, the defect was completely removed, for Maffeo Vegio, who had often heard him preach, tells us that his voice was melodious and full as well as clear, powerful, and penetrating. He speaks of these attributes as natural, and mentions no miracle (AA. SS., Maii IV,

¹ See further as to this below, pp. 229-30.

754).¹ The extraordinary thing is, that Bernardino seems to have been easily heard even to the last, though he had lost his teeth at a comparatively early age (see below, p. 143).

And so, trusting in God, he persevered, and preached on the new lines which he had resolved to follow and which he formally lays down in a passage quoted below (pp. 222-3). But a fresh discouragement awaited him. He could not get into touch with his hearers. This, to a man of his sensitive temperament (see below, p. 298), was worse than anything else. "Because he had not learnt that way of preaching from man, but from God, and the people were greatly astonished at that unusual and unheard of system and manner of preaching, though he exerted himself beyond measure, he could scarce complete what he had begun. And dismayed by the excessive toil, and prostrated by bitterness of spirit, he three times refused to preach. But, since the man of God, like another Baptist, had been sent for that purpose by God . . . he humbly submitted to the burden" (A.B. XXV, 311). And thenceforth there was no turning back. On 12 June, 1406, we find Bernardino preaching on the hill of La Capriola, about a mile out of Siena. The occasion was the festival of S. Onofrio, whose chapel stood on the hill. The chapel being too small for the crowd of worshippers who had come together, Bernardino climbed a tree, and preached from there. He had previously preached outside the Porta Ovile at Siena at a spot known as l'Alberino where S. Francis was said to have planted in the ground a stick which afterwards turned into a tree.²

The two great aims of S. Bernardino's life, the re-

¹ Alessio (p. 106) suggests that the hoarseness came upon him at a later date, in consequence of his having over-strained his voice by much preaching.

² M. Vegio in AA. SS., Maii, IV, 754.

vival of the preaching of the Gospel, and the promotion of the cause of the Strict Observance, filled his mind from the very first. He longed that the Observants might be established near his own city. The humble sanctuary of S. Onofrio seemed a favourable spot: it belonged to the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala. The authorities of the Hospital, mindful no doubt of Bernardino's services during the plague, now seconded his wishes, the necessary formalities were completed, the Pope's consent was obtained and the modest hermitage was made over to Bernardino to the end that it might become a convent of the Strict Observance.¹ According to the anonymous biographer (in A.B. XXV, 312) Bernardino had applied to Fr. Paoluccio dei Trinci (see above, p. 59, n. 2) for authority to receive the convent, which Paoluccio had readily given, and promised to send some friars to him. But Bernardino, with that tact which never failed him, perceived how desirable it was that the work should not go forward without the good will of the Conventuals in Siena. He accordingly went to the convent of S. Francis, where he had been received into the Order, and laid the whole project before the friars there, bespeaking their consent and goodwill. This was readily obtained, the Conventuals promising to do what they could to help him in the work, and even offering to accompany him in procession with their cross, to inaugurate the enterprise (A.B. XXV, 312). The enlargement of S. Onofrio was forthwith begun, and Bernardino, whose manual skill has already been referred to, helped with his own hands in the building. He was the first Guardian of the Convent of La Capriola.² It is not

¹ L. Benvoglienti (A.B., XXI, 74) says that Bernardino *post annum professionis* obtained the grant of S. Onofrio from G. Ghendaroni, the Rector of the Hospital, who had died in 1404 (Banchi, "Statuti Senesi," III, 209).

² Of the convent as S. Bernardino knew it nothing remains save

difficult to imagine how his subjects must have loved a Superior of the stamp of Bernardino, on whom the spirit of S. Francis rested in so large a measure. There was in Bernardino the same tenderness as in S. Francis, the same unaffected simplicity and absence of stiffness and pretence, the same consideration for others and willingness to take counsel with them, the same gaiety and charm. The following illustrations are given by Maffeo Vegio (Wadding, X, 12, 13). He would never enter the cell of any of his friars without giving a gentle knock and receiving an invitation to come in. One of the young friars had a fancy to fasten his girdle behind his back instead of in front according to custom. "Tell me," said Bernardino, "are you in the habit of walking backwards, or forwards?" This was enough to make the youth give up his little piece of affectation. Another friar asked Bernardino how he might best act up to his profession. By way of answer, Bernardino lay down flat on the ground and merely said, "Down! down!" Thus did he point out that humility is the foundation of all the virtues. He gives us himself the account of a curious occurrence that happened at La Capriola at some time unknown but probably many years later.¹ Two men desiring to serve God consulted him as to what they should do. He advised them to enter a Religious Order. One of them did so; but the other withdrew to a hermitage where he might live by his own rule. For a year he practised such austerity that he weakened both mind and body; and at length he returned to Siena where he was acclaimed as something

his cell, which was removed from its original position and converted into a chapel in 1689. The existing spacious buildings, and the church, dedicated to him, were erected long after his time (see Olmi, 349 ff.).

¹ 4 "De Insp.," "Opera," III, 147. Cf. the parallel passage in "Pred. Volg.," II, 350.

like a Saint. He began to declare that he was Pope, and that certain signs were about to appear. One day when a great crowd had gathered to see the signs, he went raving mad ; whereupon Bernardino took him into his care and brought him to the hospital "recommending that any of the patients who should call himself Pope or Emperor should be put on a diet of eggs". One day the madman, having apparently been discharged from the hospital and admitted to La Capriola,¹ seized a beam, and while Bernardino was talking to one of the friars, tried to hit him on the head with it ; and, had not Bernardino caught sight in time of the shadow of the madman behind him, he must have been killed.

Of the next eleven years of Bernardino's life only scattered notices are forthcoming. It is uncertain how long he remained in charge of La Capriola, to which, as we shall see, he returned from time to time throughout his life. His first preachings were no doubt in the villages round Siena. For after he had begun to preach, he deemed himself unworthy of addressing any but the humblest folks in the smallest places : and even in his later years, when he had become known as the most famous preacher in Italy, and crowds of enthusiastic admirers were mobbing him, he, conscious only of his imperfections, would walk along in such dejection that one would have thought he was being led to execution (Wadding, X, 13).

In 1407 or perhaps even in 1406² Bernardino availed himself of a chance of hearing the great Spanish Dominican, S. Vincent Ferrer, preach at Alexandria. It is said that he accosted the preacher after the sermon was over, that S. Vincent received him very kindly and invited him to dinner, and afterwards predicted from the

¹ The passage in "Pred. Volg." says nothing about the man's having been placed in hospital.

² See Hogan, "S. Vincent Ferrer," 31, 32 (Longmans, 1911).

pulpit the future renown and even canonization of the young Franciscan.¹

An allusion to this period of Bernardino's life occurs in 32 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 250) where he says that while he was at the convent called *S. Maria de Busco* at Florence, two friars were sent by Cardinal Dominici² to some fortress in the Apennines in the neighbourhood of Florence to investigate an extraordinary occurrence said to have happened during the war between Florence and Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, at the end of the fourteenth century; namely the carrying off of a gambler and blasphemer by devils who seized him while at play, and bore him through the air in sight of all the bystanders; his boots, stockings, and other articles of his clothing dropping at intervals of a mile, as he was whirled away to hell.

Some time about the year 1408, Bernardino was at Ferrara, for in No. 29 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 236), preached in 1423, he mentions that "about fifteen years before," when he was at Ferrara, a tradesman there resolved to give a tenth of his profits to God, and to do business honourably. And Bernardino adds, that on revisiting Ferrara just before, he had found the tradesman much better off, and dating his prosperity from the time when he had resolved to turn over a new leaf.

In 1410 he preached for the first time in Siena Cathedral;³ and in the same year he preached by invitation of the municipal authorities at Camaiore, a small town at the foot of the mountains near Viareggio. Here he initiated the devotion to the Name of Jesus (see below, pp. 155 ff.), and the gates and houses of the town still bear

¹ AA. SS., Maii IV, 768. The story rests on the authority of Peter Ranzano, one of the biographers of S. Vincent.

² This must have been subsequent to June, 1408, when Dominici was created Cardinal.

³ F. Donati in "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria," Ann. I, p. 50.

the sacred monogram Y H S carved on them at the preacher's instigation; while in the Collegiate church is one of the tablets bearing the sacred monogram said to have been left there by him.¹ The devotion of Camaiore to the sacred Name has never died out.²

When he was 31 years old (1411-12) and still, it would seem, at La Capriola, Bernardino was seized with illness. An abscess in the throat, which left a permanent scar as Capistrano tells us ("Serm. de S.B." in A.F.H. VI, 88), brought him to the point of death. His cousin Tobia came to see him, and solemnly adjured him to tell her whether he had kept his chastity. "To-day," he answered, "I am a virgin as when I came forth from my mother's womb." In 1416 he preached a Lenten course in S. Francesco at Siena.³

Some further light is thrown on the earlier years of Bernardino's preaching by a writer to whom I shall have frequent occasion to refer, the Augustinian friar Andrea de' Bigli (*de Billiis*) of Milan, who was also a humanist of some distinction. In his work "De institutis discipulis et doctrina Fr. Bernardini de Senis"⁴ he says (f. 78 v, 79 r) that he remembers Bernardino's first appearance as a preacher at Bologna, and reminds him that on this occasion people were not very eager to hear him, though he preached in the Podestà's palace (*in pretorio*) whereas others were content to preach in churches; and that his only hearers were the officials whom the Podestà (*pretor*) had assembled to listen to him. (I may say in passing that Fr. Andrea, writing many years later, in his anxiety

¹ Olmi, 312, from information supplied by Sig. Emidio Pistelli.

² See the interesting pamphlet by Mgr. C. Papini, "Nel V Centenario della Festa del Nome di Gesù e della predicazione di S. Bernardino da Siena in Camaiore (Florence, Barbèra, 1910).

³ Lusini, "Storia della Basilica di S. Francesco a Siena," 106, n. 5 (Siena, 1894).

⁴ Preserved in MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (H. 117. P. Inf., ff. 73 v-103 r). See further as to this work below, p. 150. Its importance has been pointed out by Ronzoni (pp. 14, 15, 36).

lest Bernardino should be exalted above measure, is diligently and with some venom recalling his early insignificance.) He had come with the reputation of preaching almost entirely on the Apocalypse. His visit was a short one; and three years later (Bigli gives no dates) he returned to Bologna but met with little more success than before. "At about the same time" Bigli "saw him preaching" at Mantua to congregations "not much larger than those who frequented the sermons of other preachers"; so that he had evidently made some little way into public favour.

Before passing from this first period of Bernardino's preaching, a passage in 40 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 280) claims our attention, where Bernardino, speaking of the power of the Name of Jesus to take away pestilence, says that he had had experience of this at Ferrara, when preaching on that Name at a time when the plague was raging there. He tells us, that the devotion of almost the whole people to that holy Name was such that they inscribed it on their houses, which devotion brought about the cessation of the plague at the time when naturally it would have raged more fiercely; adding that it had not reappeared since. He seems to refer to the summer of 1417; for we read that since 1415 a terrible pestilence had prevailed in Ferrara, and that it lasted till 1417.¹

The beginning of Bernardino's friendship with John of Capistrano may perhaps be assigned to this year,

¹ Frizzi, "Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara," II, 447 (Ferrara, 1847-8). Al., who holds, wrongly as I maintain (see below, p. 224, n. 1), that the "Seraphin" sermons were preached at Padua in 1443, is driven to refer Bernardino's allusion to the pestilence at Ferrara to the year 1438 (pp. 352, 353) when there was another, but less severe outbreak of it. This is, however, impossible; for in that year the plague, so far from ceasing, grew worse, and furnished Pope Eugenius IV with a plea for transferring the Council he had assembled there to Florence at the beginning of the next year, 1439; and Bernardino went to Florence from Ferrara, leaving the plague behind him (cf. below, p. 187).

1417. We know that Capistrano, after his admission to the Order (above, c. I, p. 65, n. 1), studied theology under Bernardino (AA. SS., Oct. X, 281), and these studies may (I think) be more confidently assigned to the year 1417 than, as is suggested by the Bollandists (l.c.), to 1418, when, as we shall see, Bernardino was occupied in preaching in Milan, Piedmont and Liguria.

Bernardino's departure for Lombardy in the latter part of 1417, which opens a new and eventful period of his life, was brought about by a strange occurrence. He was staying at the Observant convent at Fiesole¹ when one night, while he and some other friars were praying after the conclusion of Matins, a novice among the company suddenly stood up and cried: "Friar Bernardino! Go to Lombardy, for all are awaiting thee there!" The Guardian of the convent rebuked the novice when the friars were assembled in the refectory, and inflicted a penance on him for his unseemly behaviour, to which he obediently submitted. The next two nights the same thing occurred. The Guardian then asked the novice why he had done that thing? "Because, Father, I could not help it," he answered. Then Bernardino, taking this as an intimation of God's will obtained permission to go to Lombardy,² and reached Milan by the end of the year. The only incident recorded on his journey thither is an encounter which he had at Genoa with a religious impostor Giovanni Vodadeo who had secured a large following among the people. The details are obscure, but it would seem that some sort of formal contest was arranged

¹ Bernardino's cell has been converted into a chapel, and one of the Y H S tablets painted by him is preserved there (Al., 113).

² A.B., XXV 315, 316. Wadding (X, 6) gives a different version of the story. He says that Bernardino himself was the Guardian and that during his absence in Florence the cries were uttered by the novice, who had been a canon of S. Frediano at Lucca, and had been admitted to the Order by Bernardino.

between the antagonists. Bernardino, we read, "said the office fasting"; but the false prophet was found to be so drunk as to be incapable of performing any sacred functions; and, had he not taken to flight, "Bernardino would have got him burned as a sorcerer" (*2 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 158*). On his arrival at Milan at the end of 1417, Bernardino began to preach in the Church of S. Tecla daily. Not much notice was taken of him, but the novelty of daily preaching began to excite curiosity.¹ Maffeo Vegio (Wadding, X, 7) tells us how he, being then a boy of about twelve, was taken by his school-master to hear the new preacher. "Come, children," the master would say, "let us hear this good little friar in his dress so mean and shabby, whose tongue has such grace, whose eloquence is so splendid, who has such an apt way of teaching, whose words and matter have such dignity." The "good little friar" did not remain in obscurity much longer. He was appointed to preach in the Cathedral through the ensuing Lent (1418). He delivered the course of sermons entitled "*Seraphin*" of which, as preached five years later at Padua, we possess a report (see below, pp. 224, 275). At once he caught the ear of the Milanese. Moved by his preaching, the people crowded "like ants," as M. Vegio says (Wadding, X, 7), to confess their sins and receive absolution. The sacred monogram was inscribed everywhere.² The Duke of Milan, the eccentric and suspicious Filippo Maria Visconti heard of the new preacher, and in accordance with his usual practice as regards his own courtiers³ resolved to put Bernardino's profession of absolute poverty to the proof. The following is his own account in his own words as reported by the anonymous biographer in A. B., XXV

¹ A. de' Bigli, MS. cited, f. 79 r.

² See below, p. 151.

³ Pietro Candido Decembrio, "Vita Ph. Mariæ Vicecomitis" in Muratori, "R. I. Script.," vol. XX, ch. 41, 46.

(pp. 326, 327), who may have heard them when spoken in 1438 (see below, p. 182). "Some of you may remember that memorable and virtuous action done by him (Bernardino) when he first came to this city. Led by a certain curiosity of mind, I resolved to test whether he were preaching for God's honour, or were moved by greed of temporal advantages, or by vainglory. And I sent him by a trusty messenger a certain weight of gold, bidding the messenger not leave friar Bernardino until the said friar had accepted all the gold : if the friar refused, he was to use his utmost tact and skill to get him to take it. So the messenger came to the man of God and offered him the gold. The friar absolutely refused it, as if it had been dust, and added : ' May the Lord, the Giver of all good things, repay your prince with infinite graces '.¹ And so the messenger, seeing that he could prevail nothing, began again, according to his lord's intention² to urge him with earnest entreaties and admonishments to accept the gift, small indeed, but offered with great liberality ; adding, that he would not depart, unless the friar would accept the present ; such being his express orders. Wherefore the man of God, poor in temporal things, but rich in virtues, seeing how steadfast the messenger was, and fearing that he (the messenger) might get into trouble, inspired by God, would not accept the gift himself, but suffered that it should be distributed to poor prisoners in this way : Calling one of his companions,³ and the aforesaid messenger to him, he went to the public prison, and, after asking to have speech with the jailer, said to him : ' Find out how many poor debtors are within, and, so far as the gold in this messenger's hand will extend, let the poor

¹ This is a very characteristic touch and attests the fidelity of the report.

² Notice the writer's lapse into the third person.

³ He habitually travelled in the company of several friars, among whom the biographer himself seems to have been sometimes included.

debtors be discharged and their debts be paid.' Which done, he took leave of the messenger, and left him. The messenger came back to me as soon as possible and told me all that the man of God had done. And ever afterwards we have ever regarded him with devotion."¹ According to another account, the money sufficed for the discharge of all the debtors but two, who entreated Bernardino to release them also. He said he would do what he could, and offered to take their place, if he were unsuccessful. When this became known the needful money was soon provided.

Returning to the Duke's own statement, he goes on to say that another time he had tested the friar's patience and meekness by sending for him in order to impart to him at a particular hour some secret communication, and then instructing his servants to keep Bernardino waiting for a long time after the appointed hour. The servants watched him during the delay, and saw him praying, and raised up from the ground for a long while in divine contemplation. At length they roused him and exhorted him still to have patience; while he, with all humility and meekness, made a suitable answer (A.B., XXV, 327).

The story goes that when Bernardino had nearly come to the end of his first Lenten sermon at Milan, he suddenly broke off and came down from the pulpit; and afterwards told his companions that he had at that moment seen the soul of his venerated cousin Tobia ascending to heaven. It is said that the Duke, having heard of this occurrence, sent to Siena on purpose to find out whether Tobia were really dead, and that from the time when the news was brought back to him that she had died at the very moment when Ber-

¹ In 1421 the Duke showed his "devotion" by giving a church and convent near Pavia for the use of Bernardino and the friars of the Strict Observance. (See extract from deed of gift in Wadding, X, 53.)

nardino had seen the vision, he began to conceive a great regard for him.¹

We know from an entry in his "Itinerarium Anni"² that Bernardino preached on Friday, 20 May, 1418, before the Chapter-general of his Order, which was held in this year at Mantua (A.F., II, 271); a striking proof that the days of his obscurity were ended. The remainder of the year would seem to have been spent by him in preaching in Piedmont and Liguria. Barnabas of Siena is the only one of the earlier biographers who refers to this preaching tour; he speaks of Bernardino's having visited Savona, Albenga, and the Genoese Riviera, and brings the journey to an end at Pavia (AA. SS., Maii IV, 742). The local researches of Alessio (cc. XII., XIII.) have yielded some additional information; but even his industry has not succeeded in adding much to our knowledge. A few incidents of this time may be here mentioned. At Cuneo in Piedmont, Bernardino catechized the poorer and more ignorant of the people apart, and attracted them by a distribution of small loaves of bread. The chair he sat in is still preserved there, and his memory is kept alive by a distribution of blessed bread on his festival (Al., 145). At Gavi, in the mountains midway between Genoa and Alessandria, the "valley of S. Bernardino" commemorates his few days' preaching there. At Vigone, some eighteen miles south-west of Turin, the pulpit he preached from is still preserved.³ At Casale, the capital of the Duchy of Monferrato, we hear for the first time of what was thenceforth destined to be a characteristic result of his preaching, viz. the healing of party strife. So great was the joy caused by this pacification, that the sacred mono-

¹ L. Benvoglienti in A.B., XXI, 64. Cf. M. Vegio's brief reference to the story in AA. SS., Maii IV, 750.

² See Hefele, 101, and below, ch. iv. p. 324.

³ As to possible visits of Bernardino to Turin, Rivarolo and Ivrea, see Al., 158-61.

gram was incorporated into the city arms, together with the first letter of his own name (Al., 161). At Vigevano, through Bernardino's exertions, the church of S. Francis was furnished with an apse and a bell-tower.

During Advent, Bernardino preached at Pavia, and here a friendship began between him and the celebrated jurisconsult Catone Sacco, on whom his preaching had made a deep impression. We may judge of the effect of Bernardino's preaching by the fact that in consequence of it a great deal of the booty pillaged in the sack of the city by Facino Cane¹ *eight years before* was now restored by stealth, being put into the rightful owners' houses by night, or left on the doorstep (33 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 253).

During this year, 1418, are to be discerned the first signs of a trouble by which Bernardino was to be harassed for many years to come. S. Vincent Ferrer (above, p. 104) who had long since left Italy, and in fact died at Vannes in Brittany in 1419, had left behind him a belief in the near approach of Antichrist, whom he had declared to be even then born (Wadding, X, 33). This belief was taken up by many, but with special fervour by another friar of the same Dominican Order, Manfred of Vercelli, who drew a large number of followers after him. From the approaching advent of Antichrist and the end of the world, Manfred deduced the abolition of the ordinary ties of human society; and he declared in particular that married people might lawfully part, even against the will of one of the spouses, in order to insure their eternal salvation. At Castelnuovo Scrivia near Tortona, a noble lady had consulted Bernardino's companion, Fr. Vincent,² as to whether she might leave her

¹ Condottiere in the service of Giovanni Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan.

² Wadding, X, 34. See below, pp. 193-5.

husband to follow Fr. Manfred, in order thus to escape the persecution of Antichrist. Fr. Vincent, of course, replied in the negative; nor is it difficult to guess how such a case would be regarded by Bernardino. To say nothing of the morality of such conduct—and Bernardino, as we shall see, was the preacher of a very strict morality—the pretext of the approaching persecution of Antichrist would recall to his mind the old Joachite delusion and the havoc it had made of religion. On arriving at his next destination, Alessandria, he brought the case to the notice of the inquisitor there, who, like Fr. Manfred, was a Dominican. The inquisitor admonished Fr. Manfred by letter, but without result. At the end of the next year, 1419, finding that Fr. Manfred was still spreading his erroneous doctrines, Bernardino took up the matter with the Master-general of the Dominican Order, and, this producing no effect, he began himself to preach against Fr. Manfred, and also wrote two works in refutation of his teaching, both of which are lost (Wadding, X, 34). Manfred's followers, in their turn (whom he had enrolled as Tertiaries of the Dominican Order), attacked Bernardino as a "herald of Antichrist," and a "teacher of idolatry" (Wadding, *ubi supra*). The last accusation relates to the tablets with the sacred monogram painted thereon, which Bernardino exposed to the veneration of his hearers. (See as to this below, pp. 158-9.) The unhappy contest had very serious developments, as we shall see hereafter, and Bernardino did not get clear of it for many years.

Andrea de' Bigli, in an "Admonition" addressed to Fr. Manfred at some date subsequent to 1420¹ enables us to form a pretty clear notion of Fr. Manfred's character and methods of action. He was, it is plain, a sincere but headstrong fanatic with a touch of the moun-

¹ "Admonitio ad Fr. Manfredum Vercellensem ordinis fratrum prædicatorum" in MS. cited, ff. 57 v-73 v.

tebank. At the end of 1418 Pope Martin, on his return from the Council of Constance, forbade Manfred to preach ;¹ but the friar, unabashed, followed the Pope to Florence and made a kind of triumphal entry into that city.² He paraded the streets with a crowd of followers, himself standing on a couple of boards fastened to two horses one in front and one behind him ("Admonitio," f. 58 r.) A. de' Bigli was a stickler for religious decorum and a sworn foe of extravagance ; and this absurd ostentation disgusted him. "*Quid inanius, quid indignius, aut sordidius spectari potuit ?*" he cries. Manfred went about with a number of women and girls, and, though his age might exclude any suspicion of licentiousness on his part, he was not over-scrupulous in other directions, for Bigli, after citing in Manfred's favour the "leading case" of David and Abishag, goes on to remind him of an ugly incident in his career : he had abducted a young widow with her two children ; and her brothers, under whose guardianship she apparently was, had scarce been able to get him to disgorge half her property (f. 59 v). Bigli also knew of another case in which a woman secretly abandoned her husband and child of three weeks old to join Manfred's company (f. 62 v, 63 r) for which he (Bigli) had personally remonstrated with Manfred. He tells us also that while he was himself preaching at Florence, one of Manfred's wenches (*mulierculæ*) mounted the pulpit "*veluti debacchata*," and repeated the performance for many days (f. 65 r, v). Manfred's followers, as Bigli testifies from his own observation,³ were reduced to the extremity of want ; but they told Bigli

¹ MS. cited, f. 61 v. The statement is repeated in Bigli's "De institutis, etc., Fr. Bernardini," *ib.*, f. 81 v.

² Pope Martin remained at Florence from February, 1419, till September, 1420.

³ F. 64 r. According to Scipione Ammirato, Manfred's followers male and female exceeded 400. (See passage from the "Istoria di Firenze" cited in Al., 150.)

they believed their tribulations to be but signs of the approach of Antichrist predicted by their leader, their faith in whom only waxed the stronger. The Pope strove to induce Manfred to dismiss his adherents, but in vain : the orders of the Dominican General, Fr. Leonard of Florence, were equally ineffectual. Finally Manfred was excommunicated by the Archbishop of Florence, but still remained obstinate. Then, by the Pope's order, the Dominican General excommunicated him again ; but soon afterwards the sentence was withdrawn ; and the Pope then seems to have tried once more in vain to disperse the company by persuasion (f. 64 r, 65 r ; A.F., II, 279).

For the Lent of 1419 Bernardino returned to preach at Milan, in fulfilment of his promise made to the citizens the year before. His subject was "Enlightenment" (*De illustratione*) as Maffeo Vegio tells us (AA. SS., Maii IV, 760). On this occasion one of his hearers was a soldier in the Duke's service, a knight named Christopher. He had led an exemplary life, and, as he himself told John of Capistrano, had, during ten years and more that he had followed the calling of arms, kept himself free from sins of the flesh, and from gambling, and had never taken the name of God or of any Saint in vain ; which, Capistrano adds, he heard, "not without wonder" ("Opera S.B.", I, xl.). Christopher, then, deeply impressed by the preacher's earnestness, began to be troubled by scruples as to the lawfulness of continuing in the Duke's service ; and one day asked Bernardino whether it would not be better to enter Religion ? Bernardino answered that it was far more profitable to serve the King of Kings than an earthly prince, whereupon Christopher begged to be admitted as a friar of the Strict Observance. Bernardino would not hastily accept him, but examined him carefully, set before him the severity of the Rule, and told him he must give up all his property. At length, satisfied as to Christopher's

vocation, Bernardino received him into the Order¹ in which, as Fr. Christopher of Monza, he had a distinguished career as a preacher, rose to the position of Provincial Minister, founded the convent of Sta. Croce di Boscaglia near Como, and at length, in 1460, died at Milan (Amadio, ed. 1854, p. 104).

From Milan Bernardino went to Bergamo² whither he had been summoned in the hope that he might do something to mitigate the intolerable discord there prevailing. Referring some years later ("Pred. Volg." I., 253) to his experience of the civil strife prevailing in most of the Lombard cities at this time, after remarking that at Como only a quarter of the houses there were left standing, he says that at Bergamo the state of things was as bad as bad could be.

At first, however, his sermons passed almost unheeded. But he was not now so easily discouraged as he had been in earlier days, and resolved that his Master's message should be heard. Like Paul, he would be crafty and "catch the people with guile". John in Patmos had addressed a letter from the Lord to the Church of Pergamum in Asia. Bernardino would address one to the Church of Pergamum³ in Lombardy. Keeping his little stratagem secret even from his companions, he invited his scanty audience one Sunday to come the following Sunday and bring all their fellow-citizens, old and young: "For (he said) I have to deliver to you a letter, composed assuredly by the Holy Ghost, and directed by God to the Church of Perga-

¹ Fr. Christopher declared that when Bernardino in the act of vesting him laid his hands upon his head, he felt such a glow of devotion that his hands and arms, even to his heart, seemed to be melting in a fire ("Vita ex Surio," "Opera," I, xxvii.).

² Barnabas of Siena in AA. SS., Maii IV, 742. The anonymous biographer in A.B. XXV., 316, wrongly says that he preached in Lent at Bergamo.

³ The ancient name of Bergamo.

mum". Meantime he traced on a sheet of paper the "Epistle to Pergamum" ("Apoc.", II, 12-17); beginning it with a large initial letter "*secundum communem modum sribentium*". (His penmanship, it may here be said, was very clear and beautiful.) Next Sunday, when he mounted the pulpit and saw a large congregation before him, he displayed his "epistle" and took it as the text of his discourse. Thenceforward his congregations increased continually in numbers and in devoutness (A.B., XXV, 316, 317); and at length he succeeded, after considerable difficulty, in persuading the citizens to live in peace together, to remove the party emblems that had been set up on every door and window, and even on articles of church furniture (Al., 168); and to replace them by the sacred name of Jesus. Showing the monogram painted on his tablet he would say: "These are your ensigns, and the arms of the people of God. This is the Name, and there is none other whereby we must be saved" (A.B., XXV, 317). It was by means of this Name alone that Bernardino was able to overcome the apparently invincible reluctance of the Bergomasks to lay aside their mutual hostility.¹ The church of S. Bernardino in the lower town, built many years afterwards, still recalls his memorable visit.²

Party strife was not confined to the towns; and the inhabitants of the Alpine valleys to the north of Bergamo, hearing of the miracle of pacification (for it was little less) wrought in the city, entreated him to come among them.³ He did so, and penetrated as far north as Clusone, the principal place in the valley of the Seria (AA. SS., Maii IV, 772). Hence he made his way to Como, the condition of which has been re-

¹ See further as to Bernardino's handling of this matter in the pulpit, below, pp. 290-2.

² For Bernardino's second visit to Bergamo, see below, p. 125.

³ Barnabas of Siena, II, 14 in AA. SS., Maii IV, 742, 743.

ferred to above (p. 117). Here, for some reason or other, his preaching had less than its customary effect ; his second visit in 1432 (below, p. 125), was more fruitful ; but it was reserved for another Observant, Fr. Silvestro of Siena, many years later (1439), to make peace in the long-distracted city (Al., 170, n. 3). On the present occasion, however, Vincenzo Rusca, of noble birth, came under our Saint's influence, and subsequently entered the Order, and became the mainstay of the movement in that part of the country. He died in 1460 (Al., 171).

Leaving Como, Bernardino preached at various villages on the lake, and finally made his way through the district now known as the Swiss Canton of Ticino, which then formed part of the Duchy of Milan. The Alpine pass of S. Bernardino (leading from Splügen in the Rhine valley to Bellinzona), and the village of S. Bernardino on the Italian side of the pass, still commemorate the Saint's visit to this region;¹ as does a small stream of the same name near Intra on Lago Maggiore.

Returning to Lombardy, Bernardino preached for fifteen days "summo mane" at Treviglio (between Milan and Brescia) beginning on S. Martin's Day, 11 November, 1419 (Wadding, XI, 171, *ad ann.*, 1442). Here he healed the local dissensions, which had been implacable, and founded a brotherhood (*Scuola dei Disciplinati*, or *Battuti*) pledged to maintain peace, whose members undertook in the following year the construction of a church (Santa Marta) which was consecrated in 1422. While he was at Treviglio, Bernardino succeeded in making peace between that town and its neighbour Caravaggio ; he preached in a field midway between the two places, still known as *Il Campo della Pace* ; and the pulpit he had preached from was used long afterwards

¹ The incident referred to above, p. 86, very likely occurred at this time.

by S. Carlo Borromeo when preaching at Treviglio (Al., 172).

In the early part of 1420, Bernardino preached during fifty days (doubtless including Lent) at Cremona and afterwards at Piacenza.¹ This city, which had recently come into the hands of the Duke of Milan, had been nearly depopulated in the course of the struggle for the possession of it between the Count of Carmagnola (in the pay of the Duke) and its former lord, Filippo Arcelli,² and Bernardino speaks of its spiritual provision having been reduced at one time to two priests and three friars ("Pred. Volg.," I, 253). A considerable number of persons became friars of the Observance, as a result of his preaching, and the people of Piacenza showed their gratitude for his visit by applying on 20 June in this year to Pope Martin V for permission to build an Observant convent; permission was granted, and the convent of "Nazareth" was accordingly erected (Al., 178).

On 29 May, 1420,³ Bernardino was at Siena on the occasion of the removal of the body of Blessed Pietro Petroni to a new burial-place by the monks of the Certosa of Maggiano near Siena; for we read in Gigli's "Diario Senese" (Part I, 264, 265, 2nd ed.), under the date of 29 May (the anniversary of Petroni's death in 1361), that when the holy man's legs were touched by an iron instrument, blood gushed out in Bernardino's presence.⁴ Petroni, like Bernardino, had as a youth been a member of the Confraternity of S. Maria della Scala, and had tended the sick in the hospital. Afterwards, when preaching at Venice (below, p. 124) Bernardino declared

¹ Amadio, p. 120 (ed. 1854).

² See Muratori, "Annali d'Italia" ad ann. 1417.

³ AA. SS., Maii IV, 723.

⁴ According to AA. SS., Maii VI, p. 582 (Life of P. Petroni) the shedding of blood *ex percusso crure* occurred before Bernardino reached Maggiano.

that he had seen Petroni's body incorrupt after the lapse of sixty years (AA. SS., *ubi supra*).

At the beginning of the next year (1421) Bernardino went to preach a Lenten course at Mantua, at the instance of Paola Malatesta, wife of Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, Lord of that city.¹ During his stay here, Bernardino lodged at the convent of S. Maria delle Grazie, situated on an island about one and a half miles from the city, which is surrounded by lakes and marshes formed by the Mincio. The church and convent had been founded by Francesco Gonzaga (father of Giovanni Francesco) as a votive offering for deliverance from plague, and on completion in 1406 had been handed over to the Observants.² Bernardino's alleged miraculous crossing of the water from this convent to Mantua³ seems to be implicitly contradicted by his own words in "Pred. Volg." II, 353 : "*Così ti dico di santo Pietro : non sai tu che elli andò su per l'acqua, come si va in su per la terra ? Non mi ci mettarei già io !*" We may couple with this utterance the statement of the biographer in A.B., XXV (p. 315), that any request to do that which involved the performance of a miracle invariably aroused Bernardino's severe displeasure. At Mantua he enjoyed the rare experience of a city undisturbed by party strife (Al., 174). He tells us himself of a curious thing that happened while he was there (40 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 279). A man came from Ostiglia (about twenty miles off) to ask his advice, saying that there was a hobgoblin in his house who appeared to be in love with his daughter,⁴ touching

¹ See Wadding, X, 35 (*ad ann. 1420*, no. IV). It would seem from this passage that Bernardino had also visited Mantua in 1420.

² Amadio (ed. 1854), p. 117 : see below, ch. v. p. 339.

³ Wadding, X, 35 ; "Vita ex Surio," "Opera," I, xxv.

⁴ "Folettus . . . innamoratus de eius filia," according to the Venetian (Giunti) ed. of 1591, which De La Haye in the edition I am using (Venice, 1745) has relegated to the margin, substituting the feebler

her hands and cheeks, and perceptibly behaving in many other ways just like a human being ; indeed, he placed himself in bed between the man and his daughter ; but was always invisible. "I gave the man the advice which I give to you also," says Bernardino, "viz., that he and all his household should confess in good and pure faith ; after which he should sprinkle the house and the bed with holy water in Jesus's name. And so, many days afterwards, he came and told me that he had done this, and had been delivered from the inconvenience."

At the Chapter-general of the Order held at Whitsuntide, 1421, at Forlì, Fr. Angelo de' Salvetti was elected Minister-general,¹ and he appointed Bernardino as his Vicar and Commissary over the Observants in Tuscany and Umbria. Bernardino held this office for the customary term of three years, until 1424.² It is probable that he attended at Forlì to receive his appointment, and that he spent at any rate some time thereafter in the supervision of the provinces placed under his charge. A visit to Orte, where he is known to have preached, may perhaps be assigned to this year. He is said to have presented to that town a picture of the Madonna, painted in this year by Thomas of Siena (see Olmi, 314, 315).

His preaching at Crema in Lombardy may perhaps be assigned to the autumn of this year, or, with less probability, to that of 1420 : it certainly cannot have taken place in the spring of 1420 as Alessio suggests (177, 179), for Bernardino expressly tells us that he was at

"*spiritus . . . ludebat cum eius filia*" in his text. The *foletti* were "shrewd and knavish sprites," and comparatively harmless, being the least guilty among the fallen angels. See "Compendio dell' arte essorcistica," by Fr. Girolamo Menghi, Bologna, 1576.

¹ Wadding, X, 52. Alessio (181, 182) wrongly makes the Chapter-general meet at Siena.

² "L'Umbria Serafica," in M.F., IV, 122, 123.

Crema during the vintage, a circumstance which led him to take the unusual course of preaching in the middle of the night.¹ In the passage here referred to he tells us that about ninety of the citizens of Crema with their families had been banished ; and that he intimated from the pulpit in unmistakable but guarded language, that the exiles ought to be recalled. He brought the citizens to agree with him, but was told that the matter was in the hands of the Lord of the city alone, Giorgio de' Benzoni : whereupon Bernardino, who was on terms of close friendship with him, used his influence with such effect, "*consigliandogli nel bene operare*," that the recall was decided on. The rest shall be told in his own words : "In my preaching I spoke of the infinite crying of the innocent before God against those that make them suffer punishment for no fault of their own ; demanding vengeance on their persecutors. And this word so made its way into their minds, that they gathered a Council wherein they were so united that it was a marvel : and it was resolved that each of those exiles might return to his home. Then, when I left Crema, I came to a place² about ten miles off and spoke to one of those exiles who had left behind him at Crema about 40,000 florins' worth of property. 'How do things stand ?' he asked me. And I said to him : 'By God's grace you will return to your home, for I know very well what they are going to do.' He scoffed very much at what I was saying ; but presently a messenger came from Crema, who told him that he might return home when he pleased. And when he heard this he could neither eat, drink, nor sleep for joy. He came to me, and such was his gladness that he could not speak,

¹ *Perchè era tempo di vendemmia, io predicavo di notte, e tanto di notte che io avevo predicato all' aurora quattro ore* ("Pred. Volg., I, 285, 286).

² *Castello*, i.e. a fortified place.

and he remained like that for several days, and then went to Crema. Now hear a wondrous thing : As he was returning home, he found his enemy in the Piazza, who, on seeing him, ran and embraced him, and insisted on his coming to sup with him that night. While he was at supper, the person who was in possession of his house cleared out his stuff, leaving what belonged to the man I am speaking of ; and others who had carried away anything of his sent it back . . . and so that very night he was brought home and slept in his own bed with all his own things about him."

In the same year Bernardino is said to have preached at Brescia, which on 16 March had been surrendered by its lord, Pandolfo Malatesta, to the Count of Carmagnola, commanding the forces of the Duke of Milan.

In the earlier part of 1422 Bernardino arrived at Venice, then at the height of her prosperity and renown, and lodged at the convent of S. Francesco della Vigna (Al., 185, n. 3). His visit there made a great impression on Bernardino, and various allusions to it occur in his sermons. In "Pred. Volg.," I, 119, he refers to the phenomenon (not to be seen in the Mediterranean) of the flow and ebb of the tide at Venice, and describes a vessel left stranded by the receding tide, to illustrate the case of a prosperous man from whom God has withdrawn the good things of the world as a penalty for the misuse of them. In another sermon (op. cit., I, 384) he enumerates the different vessels to be seen in the port of Venice, and refers to the ceaseless activity of the sailors. But the thing that struck him most, was the absence of that mad spirit of faction which was working such mischief almost everywhere else. "O Venice!" he cries, "thou that hast now so long ruled and governed thyself! Thou choosest not to be one of those cities that come to a bad end ; thou choosest to live as thou oughtest!" (op. cit., I, 264, cf. II, 17). At Venice

he preached in the Campo S. Polo, as we are told by an eye-witness (Al., 186, n. 1), discoursing particularly, as one would expect, on commerce and usury (cf. below, p. 260); and on the Name of Jesus. He told the Venetians (it is said) that their ships would climb the mountains and their horses cross the sea. The first part of the prediction was deemed to be fulfilled when in the winter of 1439-40 they transported a fleet from the upper Adige to Lake Garda across the northern slopes of Monte Baldo;¹ the second, when in 1464 they sent an army into the Morea against the Turks.

Two permanent memorials of Bernardino's visit remained: the plague-hospital built at his instigation on the island of S. Maria di Nazaret in the following year, 1423, and adorned, in memory of him, with the sacred monogram;² and the transfer of the Convent of S. Andrea al Lido from the Augustinians, who were removed elsewhere, to the Carthusians, effected in 1425.³ Blessed Pietro Petroni (above, p. 120) had been a Carthusian, and Bernardino, from devotion to the memory of his fellow-citizen, had persuaded the Venetian Government to provide accommodation for those monks in their territory. Finally, after Bernardino's canonization, the Venetians paid him the highest honour in their power by making him co-patron of their city.

Later in the year, Bernardino went to Bergamo to lay the foundation-stone of an Observant convent then building on a site in the lower town which had been pointed out to him in a vision by the Virgin during his

¹ See A. M. Allen, "A History of Verona," p. 338 (Methuen and Co.).

² The hospital was first known as *Spedale di Nazaretto*; its name became corrupted into *Il Lazaretto*; and after the erection of another hospital in 1468 it was known as *Il Lazaretto Vecchio* (Amadio, ed. 1854, p. 136).

³ AA. SS., Maii VI, 583.

former visit, and had been spontaneously given for the purpose by its owner on 27 June, 1422 (Wadding, X, 65). Another vision now added lustre to the ceremony. During the solemn procession of the Bishop, clergy, and citizens to the site of the new convent, the Virgin and Child appeared in the sky and remained visible while the processionists twice chanted the Miserere; and at Bernardino's request, the convent church was accordingly dedicated to S. Maria delle Grazie.¹

Once more turning his steps eastward, Bernardino came to Verona about the end of October, and preached in the Cathedral at the request of the authorities from 1 November, 1422, to 17 January, 1423. He is known to have urged that the annual horse and foot races for the Palio² should be transferred from the first Sunday in Lent to some more suitable time; but it is uncertain whether he carried his point at once: anyhow there is no documentary evidence of such a change having been ordered before the year 1428, when on 25 February the *Consiglio dei XII e L* passed a decree transferring the races from the first Sunday in Lent to *Dominica proxima ante carnis pluvium* [?privium].³ The decree seems to have had no effect, and on 7 February, 1444, another was passed transferring the races from the first Sunday in Lent to "Dominica Carnevalli". This, as Spagnolo suggests (l.c.) may have been a result of Bernardino's preaching in 1443 (below, p. 198).

From Verona, Bernardino went, preaching at Vicenza on the way,⁴ to Padua, where he delivered his Lenten course entitled "Seraphin," of which an account

¹ Al., 188. See below, ch. v. p. 336.

² See W. Heywood, "Palio and Ponte," pp. 12, 16 (Methuen, 1907).

³ Spagnolo, "S. Bernardino da Siena a Verona" in "Atti e Memorie dell' Accademia di Verona," Vol. LXXVI, p. 4, n. 4 (Verona, Franchini, 1901).

⁴ MS. cited by Spagnolo (art. cited, p. 3, n. 6).



S. BERNARDINO AND S. ANTONY OF PADUA, BY ANDREA MANTEGNA
(Il Santo, Padua)

is given below (ch. III. pp. 275 ff.). The circumstances attending his departure from Padua, the like of which must have occurred in countless other places, enable us to realize the extraordinary personal affection he aroused in his hearers.¹ Though he had preached some seventy sermons, the people were not tired of hearing him, and entreated him to postpone his departure "at least for a few days"; but in vain. It seems that he was doubtful whether to go next to Venice, or to return to Vicenza; and he bade his companions pray for direction in this matter. They did so, and by their advice he started for Vicenza. A multitude of citizens, thinking he would make for Venice, and anxious for his blessing, had gathered at Portello, through which he would pass; but they remained disappointed; for he had left the city by the Savonarola gate leading to Vicenza, hoping to make his way out unnoticed. But a fresh crowd of 500 men and women, among whom was Daniel de' Pulzegli himself, soon surrounded him, and accompanied him as far as the church of S. Maria Nuova. Here he went up on a slight eminence, and addressed a few farewell words of exhortation to the company (now reinforced by a multitude of other citizens), asking them in conclusion not to follow him any farther. Then he sprinkled them with holy water and gave them his blessing: whereupon all crowded round him, trying to kiss his hands, "and I saw them hanging upon him (says our informant) so that he could hardly walk". Such was their grief, that even learned doctors of the University and other notable citizens utterly broke down and were dissolved in tears. A few only among the company now left him; the greater part either preceded him to the bridge over the Brentella, or walked beside him "unable to quit his shadow". It became

¹ The following account is taken from Daniel de' Pulzegli, the reporter of the "Seraphin" course ("Opera," III, 362).

necessary to put a stop to this importunate display of affection, and two friars hurried on, and arranged with the official in charge that the drawbridge should be raised and no one be allowed to cross the stream. In this way Bernardino was left with his own companions and some others—those who had first joined him as he left the city. The rest, including our informant himself, “sadly returned to Padua”.

Bernardino began to preach at Vicenza on 16 April (AA. SS., Maii VI, 723) and according to Olmi (p. 101) preached his last sermon on 29 June.¹ At one of the sermons a remarkable scene took place, which is described by the anonymous biographer (A.B. XXV, 337) who perhaps witnessed it. A notorious usurer, known to all present, was sitting in front of the pulpit. The subject of the sermon was usury, and Bernardino, earnestly denouncing this vice (see below, ch. III. pp. 257 ff.) seemed by his looks and gestures to be singling out this man as the object of his invective. The sermon was probably delivered in the open air;² and a buzz of conversation was heard among the audience. “Truly the man of God speaks well and holily in all he is saying against this fellow!” was their exclamation. Those who were near rose from their seats to stare at him, and point him out to others farther off. Shouts of laughter broke out on all sides; while he, with bowed head and closed eyes, “eagerly longed for the sermon to be over”: the preacher’s arrow had entered his heart, and he resolved the moment the sermon was ended to go to Bernardino, and restore his ill-gotten gains according to the Saint’s advice. At length,

¹ AA. SS., *ubi supra* states (citing MS. chronicle of Francesco Barbarano) that Bernardino preached at Vicenza till the end of July to audiences of 25,000 and even sometimes of 30,000 persons.

² He preached *in piazza* on festivals; in the Church of S. Lorenzo on other days (Olmi, 100).

"*Domino dante*,"¹ the preacher stopped; and as soon afterward as possible the usurer rushed to his cell and knocked. The Saint's companions came round him, and he exclaimed : "Truly yonder is a holy man, and God has revealed to him all my wicked deeds, wherefore I am ready to do whatever he bids me". "Why do you say that?" asked the friars. And he replied : "Because to-day this holy man has told me all that I have done, said, and thought, and especially about my wicked usury". Then the friars explained that the preacher had not meant any personal reference to him, but had been speaking against usurers in general. "But I saw him pointing and looking at me all the time!" The friars still maintained the contrary, but he insisted more and more strongly, and said with joy : "He has done all this through the Holy Ghost for my salvation". Then he withdrew,² and of his own accord made full restitution, giving thanks to God, and holding the man of God in great devotion and reverence all his days.

From Vicenza, Bernardino went to Treviso, whither he had been summoned to preach by the Podestà of that place, Francesco Barbaro, an eminent jurisconsult and humanist. Here Bernardino was joined by Fr. Albert of Sarteano (Sarthiano or Sartiano) who till then had been a Conventional friar and had also won some distinction as a humanist. He had recently been studying rhetoric under the celebrated Guarino at Verona;³

¹ The Latin equivalent of the expressive phrase *quando Dio volle*.

² Notice how careful Bernardino's companions were to spare him an agitating interview when he was tired after preaching (cf. below, pp. 194-5).

³ Bernardino himself is said to have studied rhetoric under Guarino (Donati in "Bull. Senese di Storia Patria," I, 52). Guarino on his side paid Bernardino a graceful compliment in a letter dedicating to Albert of Sarteano his "Life of S. Ambrose" (Printed in M. and D., III, 874).

but, after hearing Bernardino preach at Treviso, he abandoned profane learning, joined the ranks of the Observants, and, as we have seen above (ch. I.), became one of the most conspicuous members of that body. Writing on 2 September in this year (1423) to Guarino (to whom he sends Bernardino's kind remembrances), he gives utterance to his enthusiastic admiration of Bernardino's character and preaching, and says that he has determined to go about with him for some months at least: they are starting (he says) together next day for Feltre and Belluno, and are afterwards going to Florence.¹ Bernardino in fact had been called to play his now accustomed part of peacemaker at Belluno, which had recently been conquered by Venice: he travelled thither by the direct route across the mountains, and the result of a sermon preached in the Piazza on 25 September, was an important change in the constitution of the city, designed to check the continual turbulence produced by factious strife.² Bernardino left Belluno by the valley of the Piave; and we next hear of him at Modena, where, as we learn from a contemporary record³ he began to preach "*suso il pontiglio di piazza*," on S. Martin's Day (11 November); and his sermons were attended by audiences of from 4000 to 6000 persons. Albert of Sarteano had seemingly been separated from Bernardino, for, writing to Nicholas III of Este, Marquis of Ferrara, from Bologna, on 13 January, 1424, he mentions that he had gone to Modena on 13 November (two days, therefore, after Bernardino had begun to preach there), had preached there himself, and by his sermons had allayed the strife between Guelphs and

¹ B. Alberti a Sartiano, "Opera": "Epist.", IX, p. 177 (Rome, 1688).

² F. Patetta, "Nobili e popolani in una piccola città dell' Alta Italia," p. 23 (Siena, 1902); Amadio (ed. 1854) p. 147.

³ MS. cited in Al., 284, and Olmi, 293.

Ghibellines.¹ Bernardino evidently did not continue preaching at Modena long after Albert's arrival; for Albert does not mention him in the letter just quoted, and Vedriani in his "History of Modena" (cited by Olmi, 292, 293) only speaks of Bernardino's having preached there "several times". During Advent, Bernardino preached at Ferrara;² and thence, accompanied once more by Albert of Sarteano, he proceeded to Bologna, where he arrived at the beginning of the year 1424.³ Here an unpleasant experience awaited him.⁴ After preaching for several days, he was about to start for Florence, and had taken leave of the people; but heavy storms of rain and snow made it impossible for him to set out. With that despicable meanness which his detractors so often displayed, a certain pseudo-friar (as Pulzegli calls him), thinking that Bernardino was out of the way, began to preach against him, accusing him of heresy, especially in regard to his utterances about the Name of Jesus. Bernardino at once took up the challenge, and in fifteen sermons so completely vindicated his orthodoxy that his opponent was compelled ignominiously to withdraw his charges. The sequel is amusing. The "pseudo-friar," in the heat of his attack on Bernardino, entangled himself in such a morass of disputable matter that he was himself assailed with embarrassing questions, and it was no other than Bernardino who, with abounding charity, furnished his opponent with the clue to extricate himself from his quandary ("Pred. Volg." II, 421). In his "De institutis," etc. (MS. cited, f. 95 v), Bigli speaks of having heard

¹ Op. cit., "Epist." X (p. 180).

² Amadio, p. 151 (ed. 1854), Al., 197, 198.

³ Op. cit., p. 320 (ed. 1744).

⁴ The following account is taken from de' Pulzegli (see above, p. 127, n. 1) in "Opera," III, 362. He was writing at the time when Bernardino was preaching at Florence (see below, p. 132).

Bernardino boast in several cities of his triumph over "a certain doctor of divinity" at Bologna,¹ "though (he says) you (Bernardino) know that you are not his equal in cleverness and learning". Bigli further accuses Bernardino of gross courtesy on this occasion : "*Cui . . . rectum videatur* (he says) *quod, cum ille quem te superasse jactas, in publico (? publica) ecclesia, patronis concedentibus, locum predicationis haberet, ipse temere, homine inconsulto, per diem dominicum, quo ex more erat predicaturus, in eam sedem irruisti?*" It is true that Bigli refers to this incident as having occurred *ante biennium*, a rather strange way of speaking of something that happened at least four years before;² but I know of no other incident in Bernardino's career to which the passage would apply.

After his victory at Bologna, Bernardino, accompanied by Albert of Sarteano,³ went to Florence, and, as Hefele has shown,⁴ preached in S. Croce during Lent the "Seraphin" course of sermons. An enormous bonfire of "vanities" was kindled by his orders in the Piazza before the church on this occasion (*ib.* 81).

When Lent was over—Easter fell that year on 23 April—Bernardino went back to Bologna, and at the special request of the bishop, the holy and eminent Niccolò Albergati (created Cardinal in 1426) he preached particularly against the vice of gambling. Such was the

¹ Farther on (f. 96 r) Bigli mentions Bernardino's opponent as Friar Christopher, against whom Bernardino "vented all the bitterness of his spirit in those daily sermons of his".

² The earliest date to which we can assign Bigli's work is the latter half of 1427.

³ This appears from a letter from Ambrogio Traversari to Niccolò Niccoli dated 27 February, 1424 (A. Camaldulensis "Epistolæ," lib. XV, epist. 10, in M. and D., III, 510).

⁴ "Der Hl. Bernhardin, etc.," 94, n. 2, 97, 98. In note 1 on p. 98, *Mago* should evidently be read *Marzo*; and the year 1423 is of course 1424 N.S.

effect produced by his sermons, that a man who earned his living by painting playing-cards came to the preacher and complained that he was ruined, since there was no demand for them now, and he had never learnt to paint anything else. "Well then," said Bernardino, "if you can paint nothing else, paint this!" and he drew a circle, inscribing within it the sacred monogram surrounded by rays (see below, p. 158). So Bernardino sent him customers; and there was such a ready sale for these paintings that the man was once more able to earn his living.

The squalor of Bernardino's attire and the emaciation of his frame made men say that S. Francis himself had come among them once more; and such were the crowds who flocked to hear him, that the immense church of S. Petronio could not contain them, and at the Bishop's suggestion, the sermons had to be preached in the Piazza outside; and on 4 May a vast bonfire was lighted in which all the varied appliances of gaming were solemnly burnt.¹ According to Bigli, however, Bernardino complained bitterly of the smallness of his congregation at Bologna compared with the multitudes whom he had gathered round him at Padua. "*Populum hunc tibi rudem videri, homines tuae doctrinae ineptos esse: Patavinos debere sequi qui non modo tuos sermones cupidissime audissent, verum etiam conscripsissent*" (MS. cited, f. 81 r.).

In June of this year (1424) Bernardino was preaching in Siena, for on the 26th of that month the Government sanctioned a payment for bread, meat, and wine supplied to him; and on the 30th, a payment for "certain wax that was consumed when Fr. Bernardino said Mass in the Campo".²

¹ C. Sigonius, "De Episcopis Bononiensibus," lib. IV, in Sigonii "Opera Omnia," vol. III, p. 467 (Milan, 1733).

² Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Registri di Biccherna," ad ann. 1424, ff. 51, 54.

From Siena he went on to Rome, where he preached with marked success; many reconciliations were effected; Jews were converted; and on 21 July the customary bonfire of "vanities" blazed on the Capitol.¹

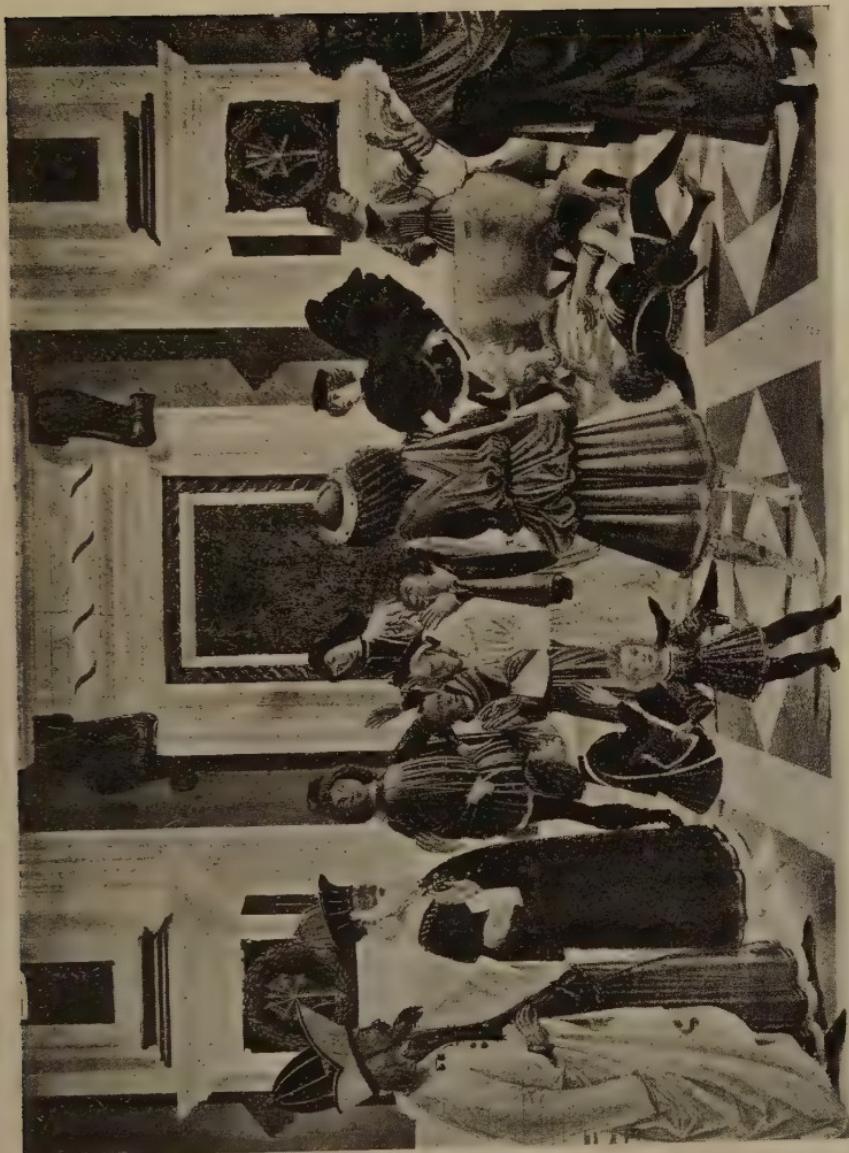
It was at this time that the witch-burning referred to below (p. 294) occurred.

The almost incessant preaching in which Bernardino had been so long engaged had affected his chest, and during his stay in Rome a kind matron had sent him some confection or other which she hoped might relieve him. But he would not make use of it for himself, and said to the messenger who had brought it: "I do not need these things; but go to such a street and give the spicery to a man who is lying sick there; and tell him from me: 'Fr. Bernardino sends you this spicery which has been sent to him, that you may make use of it in Jesus' name and get strong!'". Needless to say, the man had no sooner tasted the mixture than he rose from his bed, cured.²

In Advent, Bernardino was preaching at Volterra: his sermons were mostly delivered in a field by S. Francis's Church (Al., 209): the pulpit he preached from is still preserved in the cathedral. On his departure he presented to the people one of the tablets with the sacred monogram painted by himself, committing it as a most precious treasure to their safe keeping (AA. SS., Maii IV, 770). The authorities afterwards determined that an oratory should be built for its reception and a congregation (*Congregazione del SS. Nome di Gesù*) established for its safe keeping (A.D. 1443): these were suppressed at the end of the eighteenth century; and

¹ Wadding, X, 80; Ciaconius "Vitæ Pontificum et Cardinalium," II, 1107. According to Infessura (Muratori, "R. I. Script.," III, 2, 1123) the bonfire was on 25 June; but this is improbable in view of the document cited in the preceding note.

² Alessio (p. 270) refers this incident to Bernardino's visit to Rome in 1427.



S. BERNARDINO HEALING A BOY, BY FIORENZO DI LORENZO

(Pinacoteca Vannucci, Perugia)

the relic is now kept in the Cathedral (Olmi, 119, 278, 279, cf. below, p. 185).

In the early part of 1425, Bernardino preached at Prato in Tuscany, and as he was leaving that place, a bull dashed into the crowd which had gathered to bid him farewell, and injured one Cosimo di Niccolò Lorenzi so seriously that he was thought to be dead. Bernardino ordered the bystanders to withdraw, and knelt down in prayer by the young man, who, after a while, arose perfectly unharmed. From Prato, Bernardino went to Florence where he preached at S. Croce during Lent.¹ Hence he went to Siena by invitation of the Government, and preached in the Campo, beginning on 25 April. It appears that about the time when he began to preach he received orders from Cardinal Corrado, Bishop of Porto, then Legate at Perugia, to quit Siena; for on 2 May the Sienese Government wrote to the Cardinal asking him to revoke his order, because of the great good Bernardino's sermons were doing.² On Whit-Monday (28 May) at the end of his course, the preacher exposed to the veneration of the people a tablet with the sacred monogram painted by himself, while he exhorted them to persevere in their good resolutions, and ever to bear in their heart, in their mouth, and before their eyes that reverend Name.³ The fervour of the congregation was roused to the highest pitch; and we are told that the radiance that flashed from the tablet was such as to fill every one with amazement; and all began to cry "*Misericordia*" with such floods of tears

¹On the vernacular summary of these sermons see below, p. 225. At some later date unknown the eminent humanist Leonardo Bruni wrote officially as secretary of the Florentine Republic to ask Bernardino to preach another Lenten course at Florence (Donati in "Bull. Senese di Storia Patria," I, 53).

²Arch. di Stato in Siena: "Concistoro Copialettere," n. 1625.

³Donati, *ubi supra*. "Historia Senensis," in Muratori, "Rer. Ital. Script.," XX, 25.

that they seemed overcome by their devotion.¹ On the next day the tablet, accompanied by the city's most treasured relics, was carried in solemn procession, after which a huge bonfire of "vanities," attested the people's repentance. The "vanities" included, according to the Chronicle last cited, "more than 400 loads of 'tables,'² cards, dice, false hair (*capelli morti*) rouge-pots,³ and other tribulations, even to chess-boards". These sermons produced a great and immediate effect, though it was unhappily transient, perhaps owing to a certain fickleness of disposition with which Bernardino taunted his fellow-citizens two years later. "I know (he said) that you are that sort of people who soon leave a thing, and soon return to the same again."⁴ Yet if (as has already been hinted) Bernardino was not able among his own countrymen to write the Holy Name on "fleshly tables of the heart" as clearly as he wished, he in some sort wrote it "on tables of stone"; for the Government in June of that very year decreed that on the front of the Palazzo Pubblico the arms of Gian Galeazzo Visconti⁵ should be replaced by the sacred monogram in gilded bronze on a blue ground, where it remains until this day.⁶

¹ "Croniche Sanesi che vanno sotto il nome di Tommaso Fecini," pp. 159, 160 (MS. in the Archivio di Stato, Siena).

² i.e. Backgammon boards. See W. Heywood: "Ensamples of Fra Filippo," 170 (Siena, Torrini, 1901). "Palio and Ponte" 154, n. 1.

³ *Vagielli* = *vaselli*, dim. of *vaso*.

⁴ "Pred. Volg.," II, 284; see also I, 349, III, 64. The enactments (*Riformagioni di Frate Bernardino*) passed by the Government in consequence of the sermons are referred to below (ch. III. p. 259).

⁵ See above, p. 85.

⁶ Donati, *ubi supra*. The work was done by the Sienese goldsmiths Turino di Sano and his son John. The sacred monogram was likewise painted in the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Pubblico by Battista of Padua.

Among Bernardino's hearers in the Campo was the famous humanist and diplomat, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II, who tells us that the friar's eloquence so wrought upon him that he was on the point of embracing the Rule of the Strict Observance, and was only dissuaded from doing so by his friends' entreaties, "which (he adds) I take to have been the better course; for we know not what is most expedient for us".¹ Æneas also tells us in the same place that the simpler folk, both men and women, "used to touch Bernardino as a saint"; and that one day, just as the sermon was about to begin, a threatening sky was causing the congregation to scatter: but the preacher bade them remain; and then, after kneeling in prayer, ordered the clouds to disperse, whereupon the sky became clear again. At a later time the impulse to become an Observant friar recurred to Æneas, in consequence of his hearing an eminent preacher declare that a man is bound to fulfil any good thing he has once decided to do. His conscience was so much troubled that he journeyed on foot with a friend from Siena to Rome, where Bernardino then was, on purpose to consult him. Bernardino, who was a shrewd judge of character, assured the young humanist that he had no vocation for the Religious life.² It is clear that Bernardino made a permanent impression on Æneas, for many years later, in the "Dialogus," it is Bernardino whom Æneas brings in as his guide through the realms of the dead, and as spokesman of the oracles of God (see Voigt, op. cit., II, 292-4).

From Siena Bernardino set out for Asciano,³ and

¹ Extract from Æneas's "De viris illustribus" in "Opera S. Bernardini," I, xliv.

² G. Voigt, "Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini," I. 15 (Berlin, 1856).

³ MS. Chron. of T. Fecini *ubi supra*. According to this authority Bernardino did not finish preaching at Siena till 10 June.

then, perhaps after visiting Grosseto,¹ made his way to Arezzo. A short distance from the town, at the foot of a hill called Pitigliano was a spring amidst a grove formerly sacred to Apollo, and still the scene of superstitious rites and devil-worship. It was the resort of enchanters and witches, who gave out that the water had miraculous healing powers.² It was the custom in particular for babies to be brought there to be cured of any ailment. The witches plunged them into the icy water, which, as might have been expected, proved fatal to most of them. Many adults also resorted thither for healing. Anything in the nature of sorcery roused Bernardino's vehement indignation (see below, ch. III. p. 294); and when, after preaching for several days in the city, he heard of the infamous practices that went on at Fonte Tenta—for that was the name of the place—he proceeded "with great fervour and zeal of charity to preach against those pestilent men and women, and all those who permitted such things to be done". There was a strong vested interest against him; and those who profited by the credulity of the vulgar "rose up against the man of God". With them, shameful to say, were joined "certain Religious"; Augustinians or Dominicans as we may conjecture. They gave out that Bernardino was impelled by envy and hatred under a cloak of piety, and, playing on the local spite and political complexion of the Government, urged on the authorities that Bernardino was a Sienese citizen, a Ghibelline, and an op-

¹ On 22 June, the Sienese Government wrote asking him to go and preach at Grosseto if he could for six or eight days (Arch. di Stato in Siena: "Concist. Copialettere," n. 1625).

² The following account of the destruction of Fonte Tenta is taken from the anonymous biographer in A.B., XXV (pp. 331 ff.). He calls the place Fonte Tecta; but in the document cited below (p. 139, n. 3) and in Repetti ("Dizionario," p. 503, s.v. *Grazie, S. Maria delle*) the name appears as Fonte Tenta.

ponent of the party controlling the city.¹ This intrigue was only too successful; Bernardino was expelled from Arezzo with every circumstance of indignity, and forbidden to return to the city or its territory.²

Three years later, in 1428,³ Bernardino returned to Arezzo. The magistrates who had expelled him before had been replaced by others, by whose invitation he was now come to preach during Lent. He made no express reference to the matter of Fonte Tenta all through Lent; but he continued his daily preaching over Easter; and at last on a Sunday (probably Low Sunday) he preached "to all the people and clergy a very beautiful, comforting, and acceptable sermon"; and at the end he said: "If there is any true Christian and friend of God here, let him follow me!" He had previously arranged with some of his particular friends how the destruction of the grove and fountain should be effected; and had got the Conventuals of S. Francesco, in whose church he was preaching, to prepare a wooden cross.

And so, at the end of the sermon, as he came down from the pulpit, he ordered this cross to be borne in front, and himself, with all the Religious, the clergy, and the people, no one objecting, took his way to the gate leading to Fonte Tenta; and when they reached the place, the cross was fixed in the ground. "And all

¹ Arezzo, in the past a stronghold of Ghibellinism, was now subject to Florence, which had adhered to Guelphism for about 150 years, though in fact these names had long since ceased to have any intelligible meaning.

² In his "Storia d'Arezzo," p. 248 (Arezzo, 1897) Ugo Leoni gives a list of local magnates who pelted the holy man out of the city with stones; for which he cursed them; and this was said to have brought disasters on their families.

³ This date is established by a document of 19 March, 1445, in the Archivio at Arezzo, printed in Tarcisio, "S. Maria delle Grazie presso Arezzo," p. 8, n. 2 (Florence, Tip. Domenicana, 1906).

the company rejoiced together, expecting and longing to see mighty works of God." Meanwhile the man of God bade them remove the water. A number of willing workers, among whom were conspicuous the Religious who had formerly opposed him, came forward with the necessary tools; but the task proved much harder than had been expected; and it was found necessary to dig down to a great depth. It was a work of many days, involving the removal of great blocks of stone, and a large quantity of mud, besides the draining off of the water. The workers could not leave the place, and the people round about organized a supply of provisions for them. In the meantime an urgent message reached Bernardino from Filippo Maria Visconti, summoning him at once to Milan on important business. He felt himself obliged to depart, and could only leave injunctions that the cavern in which the spring originated should be filled up with earth and stones and a chapel be built close by with a painting of the Virgin, to whom it was to be dedicated under the title of S. Maria delle Grazie. This was done by order of the authorities of Arezzo at some time between 1428 and 1445.¹

To return to the year 1425, at the beginning of August, Bernardino was at Assisi, and his biographer, Barnabas of Siena, who was also there, records his wonder at the number of pilgrims (estimated at more than 200,000) who had assembled both to gain the Portiuncula Indulgence and to see Bernardino (AA. SS., Maii IV, 743). In September and October Bernardino was preaching at Perugia. The results of this visit filled him with thankfulness, and caused him two years later to hold up the Perugians as models to his fellow-citizens of Siena. "There is as much difference between you and the Perugians (he said) as between heaven and earth;" and then he tells them of the seven sacks of

¹ Tarcisio, op. cit., 9. See below, ch. v. p. 334.



S. BERNARDINO PREACHING AT AREZZO



THE PROCESSION TO FONTE TENTA



THE DESTRUCTION OF FONTE TENTA
PREDELLA OF PICTURE BY NERI DI BICCI
(Pinacoteca, Arezzo)

"vanities" brought to be burnt, and of one "choice bale" whose contents were valued at several thousand florins ("Pred. Volg.", I, 349). The author of the "Franceschina" tells us (M.F., IV. 148) that two great "castles" of "vanities" and superstitious objects were burnt, on one of which was planted a banner with an effigy of Satan painted on it by a "venerable friar, Bernardino's companion, Nofrio da Sarzana". Speaking in another sermon of this same visit to Perugia, Bernardino says: "I never saw better results than there. So many reconciliations were made that I was amazed that there could have been so many enmities as there had been" ("Pred. Volg.", III, 497). The statutes against gambling, blasphemy, etc., which were enacted in consequence of these sermons¹ probably had no greater effect than any attempt "to make people moral by Act of Parliament" ever produces; but the permanent abolition of such a popular, deeply rooted, elaborately organized institution as the *Battaglia de' sassi* (Battle of stones), a dangerous sport in which lives were frequently lost, is the most striking instance recorded of the power of Bernardino's preaching.² He lodged outside the city in the convent of Monteripido or S. Francesco del Monte, which had been now for more than fifty years in the hands of the Observants (see above, p. 56), and was memorable as the abode of Brother Giles, the most remarkable among the companions of S. Francis. We are told that Bernardino's preaching at Perugia did not make much impression at first; and that in order to obtain better congregations he announced one day that

¹ "Pred. Volg.", I, 350; W. Heywood, "Perugia," 295.

² See the account of the game in Heywood, "Palio and Ponte," 138 ff. The statute abolishing it is printed there. The Government subsidies toward its maintenance were diverted to the purchase of wax "for the honouring . . . of the image or effigy of the blessed martyr Herculanus," the patron of Perugia.

he would shortly show his audience the devil. His innocent stratagem was successful : his hearers gathered in crowds ; and then, reminding them of his promise, he bade them look on one another, for that they were all devils, since they did the devil's works, being full of hatred and variance, and setting at nought God's commandments.

The sacred monogram was set up all over the city, even above the canons' stalls in the Cathedral, where it may still be seen ; and two years later Bernardino told the Sienese that it had been inscribed in gold on twenty-eight out of thirty churches : two only had been omitted because of the cost of the metal ("Pred. Volg.," I, 97).

On some later visit to Perugia, the date of which is not known, he preached four sermons on party-strife, and at the end of the last sermon bade all who were resolved to live at peace with their neighbours to stand on his right hand, and the rest on his left. One powerful noble with his adherents alone remained in their places on the left hand, murmuring against the preacher. Bernardino entreated the man to join the rest of the company on the right hand, and forgive his enemy (it was a case of a family feud). "If you do not," he added, you will never enter your house alive." The noble remained stubborn, and, as he was entering his house, dropped down dead (AA. SS., Maii IV, 771).

An incident which occurred at Castel della Pieve, a small town in Perugian territory, may here be related, though its date is unknown. One day, while Bernardino was preaching he suddenly proposed that they should all go into the open air "for [said he] I shall be able to finish my sermon better outside". They did so, and while he was continuing his sermon in the open air, the roof of the church where he had begun to preach, fell in without injuring any one.¹

¹ Anon. biogr. in A.B., XXV, 335.

During the next Lent (1426) he preached at Viterbo. He arrived apparently from Todi about half-way between Perugia and Viterbo¹ for we read that he was "*menato da' Todini*"; and was received with great honour. Though not yet forty-six years old he had by this time become bald, and had but few teeth left; but our informant, Iuzzo di Covelluzzo² pronounces him a "*bel vecchio*," and incidentally mentions that he had eaten with him as they journeyed toward Rome (see below, p. 144). It was soon found that there was no room for the congregation in S. Francis' Church; and a stone pulpit was therefore erected outside. This pulpit, on which suitable inscriptions were afterwards carved, is still in existence. The subjects of the sermons were the same that he had so often preached on elsewhere—gambling, women's finery, intercourse with the Jews, and, above all, party strife. A peace, which, however, did not last long, was arranged between the rival parties in the town; the women's false hair, rouge-pots and other vanities, implements of play and wizards' books, were burnt in a new-made castle of wood at S. Pietro della Rocca, while the urchins of Viterbo smashed the furniture in the public gambling-hell. The sacred monogram was carved on the two chief gates and on many private houses.³ Many

¹ The following account of Bernardino's stay at Viterbo is taken from the article "S. Bernardino da Siena in Viterbo," by Cav. F. Cristofori in M.F., IV, 35 ff. The date 1426 seems conclusively established by document XIX printed on p. 44 at the end of the article.

² Article cited, p. 40.

³ Cf. below, p. 151. Bigli ("De institutis, etc." MS. cited, f. 87 r) accuses Bernardino of having made an attack at Viterbo on the Augustinians and of having said that the Minorites and the Dominicans were alone to be reckoned as Orders. Afterwards (says Bigli) when some of the Dominicans who had attended his sermons refused to participate in the processions in honour of the name of Jesus, which they stigmatized as "useless and pernicious," Bernardino changed his tone and repudiated them.

women and girls were moved to embrace a life of penitence and were formed into a community, in a house adjoining S. Agnes's Church, by Bernardino, who fetched four holy nuns from the Convent of S. Anna at Foligno to instruct them. They were known as the "Sisters of S. Bernardino," though in due course they were attached to the Third Order of S. Francis. Their abode afterwards became the Monastery of S. Bernardino. Finally on Easter Tuesday (2 April) Bernardino set out for Rome, accompanied by hundreds of the Viterbese who did not leave him, in spite of his efforts to dismiss them, till he was within the city. Of this visit to Rome nothing seems to be recorded, nor do we know where or how Bernardino spent the remainder of the year, except that he then made that long and fruitful sojourn at Rieti to which he referred when passing through the place just before his death.¹

At the beginning of 1427, Bernardino arrived at Orvieto, and a decree of the Council-general of that city exists whereby provision was made for the sustenance of him and five friars who were with him; for of course they lived on alms alone. On 16 February, at the end of his preaching the Council issued another decree² from which we learn that the main topics of the sermons had been blasphemy, gambling, the observance of the festivals of Corpus Christi and of the Assumption; and abstinence from intercourse with Jews, especially in the way of borrowing money. The Council accordingly repealed all the existing concessions in favour of the Jews, and appointed commissioners to make regulations con-

¹ See below, p. 202, M. Vegio, writing of Bernardino's last journey in 1444 expressly states that Bernardino had stayed at Rieti eighteen years before (AA. SS., Maii IV, 761). Alessio (251) places the first visit to Rieti in 1427, but cites no authority.

² Both documents in full in M.F., III, 160; and in Fumi, "S. Bernardino da Siena in Orvieto e in Porano" (Siena, 1888); and in part in Al., 248, 249.

cerning the other matters on which Bernardino had preached.

At Orvieto, Bernardino found some relatives on his mother's side, the Avveduti, formerly of Massa, who had migrated to Orvieto (Al., 247; cf. above, p. 83); and he is said to have visited the fortress of Porano in the neighbourhood, which was a fief belonging to the Avveduti, and lodged in their mansion, where a small oratory, afterwards erected, still commemorates the visit.

According to a memorandum preserved in the Archives of Gubbio Cathedral and copied by Bishop Pecci from a MS. now lost, containing a hymn to Jesus attributed to Bernardino,¹ Bernardino preached at Gubbio during the whole of Lent in this year 1427.²

Alessio (pp. 251, 252) makes Bernardino go from Orvieto, which he had left, as we have seen, by 16 February, to Terni, Narni, Amelia, Caprarola, and thence to Viterbo for Lent, 1427, which began on 5 March. This itinerary, involving a journey on foot, be it remembered, of 100 miles at least, with intervals of preaching, could not be covered in the time available, to say nothing of the fact that Bernardino did not preach a Lenten course at Viterbo this year (see below, p. 147). He visited Rieti, as we have seen, in the year before, and it is probable that the four other places named above, which are all in Southern Umbria, were visited at the same period, viz. in the latter part of 1426. While he was in this region the following incident may have occurred. He arrived one day at Montefranco, a small place in the diocese of

¹ See M.F., IV, 150, and Alessio, 244.

² He is known to have preached two Lenten courses there by invitation of Guidantonio, Count of Urbino ("Cronaca di Ser Guerriero da Gubbio" in Muratori, "R.I. Script," XXI, pt. IV. p. 42 (new ed.), lines 9, 10 of the variants). The chronicle is described as "Chronicon Eugubinum" in vol. XXI of the original edition of Muratori, where the passage referred to occurs on p. 962. The second course at Gubbio was preached in 1435 (see below, p. 178).

Spoletō (Olmi, 126) so faint and hungry that he could hardly stand. He asked a poor woman to give him a bit of bread. She replied that she had none. Bernardino then told her to look again, in the kneading-trough; and when she had opened it, she found it full of fine bread, with which she satisfied the poor friar's hunger. She then went out to tell the wonder to all whom she met; whereupon a crowd assembled, but found that Bernardino had gone on. They went after him, caught him up, and begged his blessing; then, before blessing them, he spoke to them of the love that man owes to God; entreating them finally to build a convent for the Observants. This was eventually done; but the convent was only completed after his canonization, when it was dedicated to him (Al., 251, 252).

In the spring of this same year, 1427, the long-standing hostility of Bernardino's traducers came to a head, and he was summoned to Rome by Pope Martin V to answer a charge of heresy.¹ The Pope, whose firm support of the Observants has already been spoken of, and who, as we have seen, had only the year before given a signal proof of his confidence in them (see above, p. 63), was greatly annoyed that Bernardino, to whom the progress of the movement was chiefly due, should have given any occasion for such a charge, especially as he (the Pope) could not but know that the Observants and the Fraticelli had (as we have seen) a common origin, and that it behoved the former above all other men to be clear of the faintest suspicion of heterodoxy. To these general considerations was added the fact that the Pope had already been solicited to appoint Bernardino to the vacant see of Siena. Previously to 23 March he had sent a brief to Siena asking that the names of some citizens suitable for the appointment should be submitted to him; and on the 27th the

¹ AA. SS., Maii IV, 723.

Sienese government, in accordance with a vote of the Council of the People, had sent an ambassador to Rome to desire that Bernardino might be their new bishop.¹

It is not known where, or exactly when, Bernardino received the Pope's summons ; but in any case he set out forthwith to exculpate himself.² In process of time he reached Viterbo, where, being tired with travelling, he halted for a little rest, "as he told us there afterwards," says our informant. The citizens of Viterbo, who had not forgotten his visit to them the year before, came to see him, and entreated him to preach at least once. In spite of his fatigue he consented, and in the course of his sermon he said : "I am going to Rome to be burnt with fire, while you will stay here enjoying peace and quietness. For they say that I am a heretic, and there is a strong report in Rome that I am to be burnt : and so (he added) I entreat you to pray to Almighty God for me." "Then" (we read) "rising by night, for it was in the beginning of summer, he saddled his ass,³ mounted, and resumed his journey. And when he reached a place not far off, he sat down in the shade, and there, with his companions, took a little sleep. But when morning was come, some of the citizens of Viterbo who had gone to the convent, in order to speak with God's servant, found that he had departed ; and thereupon the cry went through their city that he had left them. The citizens, pitying the holy man, and grieving beyond measure for the words he had uttered, I mean about his death, and fearing that he would perish, followed him in a great crowd, hurried to the place where he was resting and

¹ Archivio di Stato in Siena, "Delib. Concistoro," *ad ann. 142⁶, 1427, ff. 14, 15.*

² The following account of his journey to Rome and his doings when he got there is taken from the anonymous biographer in A.B., XXV, 319, 320. It is derived from Bernardino himself.

³ He usually travelled on foot ; but was now riding, probably on account of the urgency of the occasion.

greeted him. He returned their greeting, and said, as he asked the cause of their arrival : 'Whither are you going, dear friends?' 'We are ready to follow you in life and in death,' they replied. 'Not so' (said he), 'but rather return to your homes.' Then he thanked them and added, 'God reward you'. But they replied, 'We will not go back; for we are longing to see the end of your business'. And then he rejoined: 'Don't do it, my children; for it would all be set down to me, and my opponents would publish it abroad that I was trying to fortify myself with your support. Wherefore your coming with me is not acceptable to me this time.'¹ Then they said: 'Father, we will go before you'. And the man of God replied: 'It is not expedient that you should either go before or follow me'. So they took their leave, but being firmly resolved, and with their feelings stirred up to boiling-point, they went on before the man of God, and got to Rome. When they entered the city the Romans said among themselves: 'What is all this? And what do these people want?' They, on their part replied: 'We have heard about Fr. Bernardino and how you call him a heretic and even say he deserves death'. And the Romans on hearing Bernardino's name, said: 'Let him come, let him come and be burnt'. The Viterbese replied: 'You are and always have been wrong-headed, without the fear of God, and persecutors of the servants and friends of God'. And so the contention between them went on for some days. But when the Viterbese perceived and clearly recognized that they could do no good, they decided to return home. While they were on the way back, the man of God came by stealth to Rome, and went to the house of a certain prelate, a devoted and very dear friend of his, and one who wished him well. He was cognizant of all that was plotting against the man of

¹ Cf. above, p. 144.

God, and, in order to help him, went round by day and night to the prelates of the Roman Curia, trying to secure their good will, so that he might deliver him from this most unjust persecution. The Pope, primed with unfavourable information, said to this prelate : ‘Where, where is that seducer, Fr. Bernardino?’ The other, Bernardino’s friend, replied : ‘He will soon be here, most blessed Father’. ‘I will surely have him punished,’ said the Pope, ‘as soon as he comes.’”

Our biographer then tells us that the prelate asked the Pope to give Bernardino a hearing, adding that he was even then in Rome and ready to obey the Pope’s orders;¹ that the Pope granted his request; and that Bernardino, accompanied by the prelate in question, after having declined the assistance of many doctors of divinity of his Order, appeared before the Pope on the appointed day in private audience and convinced the Pope of his innocence. The Pope (we are told), turning to the man of God, and looking upon him steadfastly in the face, said to him : “Go in peace : for I have greatly rejoiced in thy presence, and thou hast spoken clearly and well concerning thy affair. Preach therefore with all diligence the word of God, be instant in season and out of season. Fear not from henceforth, and accomplish what thou hast begun. And if thou desirest aught from the Apostolic See, ask without fear. For I am ready to help and to favour thee in all things.” Then Bernardino asked and obtained leave to be heard in public before the Pope and all the Cardinals and prelates resident in the Curia.

But before coming to the public trial it will be well to state exactly what Bernardino was accused of, and to

¹ When the Pope heard that Bernardino was in Rome he forbade him to preach, or to display the tablet with the sacred monogram (Wadding, X, 114).

give some account of what his teaching on the points in dispute really was. The charges against him were (*a*) That in his sermons enjoining a special devotion to the Name of Jesus he had preached heretical doctrine. (*b*) That in exposing his painted tablets with the sacred monogram to the reverence of the faithful, he had led them into idolatry. When we are told (Wadding, X, 114) that the Dominicans and Augustinians were the prime movers in this attack on Bernardino, in which Fr. Manfred (see above, pp. 113-16) also seems to have participated,¹ it is not difficult to read between the lines, remembering that Fr. Manfred was a Dominican, and the "pseudo-friar" whom Bernardino had discomfited at Bologna three years before (above, pp. 131, 132) was probably an Augustinian.

There is, in fact, every reason to think that Bernardino's detractors used his inculcation of the devotion of the Holy Name and his device of the monogram surrounded by the sun's rays, as a blind to conceal the spite and jealousy they felt against one whose gifts they envied, and whose holiness put them to shame. It must, however, be admitted that the opposition to Bernardino did not proceed from such men alone, for it is certain that his unconventional ways in general, and his new cult in particular, were viewed with genuine misgiving and even alarm by the more conservative portion of the religious world. Of the men of this stamp friar Andrea de' Bigli was a typical representative, and he has recorded his views in the remonstrance he addressed to Bernardino at a somewhat later date, but before 1431, to which I have already referred several times.²

This document, informal and discursive as it is, prob-

¹ Glassberger in A.F., II, 279. Fr. Manfred lived on into the reign of Eugenius IV, and was buried at S. Maria sopra Minerva at Rome (*ibid.*).

² See above, p. 132, n. 2, and p. 106, n. 4.

ably indicates the lines of attack adopted by Bernardino's opponents in the proceedings before Pope Martin, and is therefore of special importance, in the absence of more exact information on this head. Bigli, while acknowledging Bernardino's personal sanctity, and the remarkable success that attended his preaching, could not stomach his new-fangled ways, which he looked upon in much the same way that Bishop Butler viewed the irregularities of John Wesley. "We are all wondering," he cries (MS. cited, f. 73 v) "at your venturing to inscribe the name of Jesus on a kind of tablet, and calling the people together to worship it above all else." Farther on (f. 79 v, 80 r) he makes the important point that the new cult had been introduced without authority.¹ He complains that Bernardino might seem to despise the Saviour's other names,² since he restricts himself almost entirely to that of Jesus, whereas in the Bible no one name is preferred before any other (f. 91 v). He warns him that people were saying that he urged the adoration of his tablet as a necessary part of the Faith (f. 83 v, 84 r, v). While bearing his own testimony to the scriptural doctrine of the efficacy of the Name of Jesus, he notes with annoyance (referring to Milan, though writing from Bologna) that there is no street or corner where you cannot see the monogram inscribed, and hear people saying, "There's Bernardino's Y H S!" proclaiming the name of Bernardino not less than that of the Saviour, and extolling him, Bernardino, as the only preacher, the only wise and righteous man (f. 76 r). The Name, Bigli complains, is turned into a jest, and may even be seen "*lupanaribus insignitum*" (f. 79 v);

¹ This had probably been much relied upon by Bernardino's assailants.

² This was absolute moonshine. Hear Bernardino himself. "Se tu non hai fede ferma in Iesu, o vuoi in Cristo, o in Iesu Cristo, o in Cristo Iddio, tu capitari male" ("Pred. Volg.," II, 284).

and he insinuates that it might be abused like the talismanic writings of soothsayers and wizards (f. 77 v, 78 r). At Florence, the report was current that the tablet exposed to veneration by Bernardino was the ensign of the city's mortal foe Filippo Maria Visconti (f. 79 v). Let not Bernardino be puffed up : if the people had crowded to hear him, that was because it was a time of peace, and they had nothing better to do ; they went out of curiosity, to see what daily preaching was like (*ib.*). Similarly at Bologna, Fr. Andrea observes with chagrin that Bernardino had ordered a pulpit of unusual dimensions¹ to be erected in the piazza, because the church of S. Petronio, big as it is, "did not seem big enough for him" ; and had kept people "standing or wallowing in the mud" in the open air, in winter, to the injury of their health, while he preached to them for over three hours at a stretch (f. 96 r). Bernardino's practice of celebrating Mass with special solemnity in the open air was also an offence to Bigli. "In every city you enter, you forthwith order the erection of a conspicuous altar in a public place, like another Samuel about to offer sacrifice on high ; as if it were not enough for you to be seen in the places where bishops and pastors are wont to be heard" (f. 96 v). Another thing that annoyed Fr. Andrea was Bernardino's making so free with the devil's name in his sermons (cf. below, p. 240). "Don't you remember," he says (f. 97 r) "at Bologna, when you were continually bringing in that cursed name, and a woman in her rude simplicity spat on the ground (as the custom is) and you sharply scolded her as she trembled before you, saying that she was the first woman in whose body thousands of devils were enclosed?"² And then he tells another story to illustrate his point, that Ber-

¹ This ungainly pulpit is still in use in S. Petronio.

² *Primam esse clamitans cuius corpore milia diabolorum (quippe hoc tuum vocabulum est) tenerentur inclusi.*

nardino's preaching tended to bring serious subjects into ridicule: a woman was scolding her daughter for having the devil's name continually on her lips. "Why may I not do in the house," was the answer, "what Bernardino is always doing in the pulpit?" (97 v).

On the question of heresy, Bigli refers to a story said to have been told by Bernardino at Padua, Milan, and Siena, of a soul who, having been released from Purgatory, applied for admission to Paradise first in the name of the Father, then in that of the Son, then of the Holy Ghost, then of the Trinity, then of Christ, and other names; but was only admitted on naming the name of Jesus. This Bigli calls "*sordidum figmentum*" (f. 94 r). Such a doctrine, he thinks, smacks of Arianism. "*Tu mihi videris*," he says, "*eundem Filium ab se ipso separare. Siquidem aliud Jesum posse, quod Christus non possit*" (ib.). He mentions having heard from a friar of Bernardino's own Order that at Mantua, people in making the sign of the cross actually said "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the good Jesus" (f. 97 v, 98 r). Accordingly he warns Bernardino to be more careful in his language to untutored people (f. 94 v).

Another point on which Fr. Andrea lays much stress is that, though Bernardino himself was clear of any suspicion of heresy,¹ and the behaviour of himself and the friars, *quos tecum habes*, was in all points exemplary, yet his unguarded language, and especially the exaggeration of it by others of his friars, and notably Fr. Matthew of Sicily,² had, in fact, occasioned unseemly strife for which Bernardino must be held

¹ *Quamquam ego de te hujuscemodi* (i.e. heresy) *nihil suspicor, facileque optimum fidelissimum sanctissimum hominem prædicabo, tum etiam ceteros hortabor qui te devotissime audiant, ac tanquam ex prophetis aliquem divinitus missum accipiant* (f. 82 v).

² See below, p. 162, n. 2.

responsible (f. 98 r, v, 101). Letters frequently came from Sicily, says Bigli (f. 99 r), telling that almost the whole island was at strife by reason of Fr. Matthew's temerarious utterances about the Holy Name. At Messina, people would refuse to give alms asked for God's sake, or for Christ's sake, but would give them on hearing the name of Jesus; whereas at Catania a beggar who should utter the name of Jesus only would be shunned as a heretic and blasphemer. Elsewhere in the island a preacher had been interrupted by the cry: "Unless God is Jesus, say no more about God" (f. 100 r). In Barcelona, too, Fr. Matthew's preaching had caused an unedifying dispute in which the Dominicans had also been mixed up, as to whether Jesus or Jhesus were the correct spelling of the word. Fr. Andrea suggests (f. 101 v) that Bernardino himself was responsible for the quarrel because of his introduction of the letter H into his monogram, even though he may disclaim Fr. Matthew. Let him therefore, if indeed it be now possible, counteract the scandal that has arisen: let him give up his peculiar style of preaching, avoid singularity, and walk in the old paths (f. 99 r); if he must use an emblem, is not the Cross good enough? (f. 88 v). He has brought peace to many cities, as Bigli rejoices to admit (f. 95 r); let him not now become himself a sower of discord and "divide Christ" (f. 99 r, v). Bigli's tone, as the reader may perceive, is at times rather acrimonious, in spite of his repeated expressions of esteem for his opponent. These expressions, though not insincere, are perhaps a little inflated, and their exact value may be gauged by the following passages from a confidential letter written by Bigli at about the same time to a certain Fr. Antony of his own Order advising him as to the attitude to be assumed by him and his friends at Barcelona in reference to the dispute in that town aroused by Fr. Matthew, as

already mentioned.¹ “*Neque horum qui vos de his rebus contendere volunt ipsam intentionem damno qua forsan non modo fideles, verum etiam devotos facere satagunt . . . Præsertim vero cum hoc genere hominum cuiusmodi aut Bernardinum aut Mattheum esse audivimus, nihil omnino discidii aut controversiae faciendum censerem. Quippe nullis (ut referunt) literis eruditos quid de literarum compositione frustra examinare conamur? Facile credo illi respondebunt se cum grammaticis parum versatos neque ex theologis in hac re consilium petivisse; hoc solum meditatos quonam modo vulgus ad novam aliquam devotionis speciem excitarent*” (f. 109 r, v). Bigli, I may here mention, ended his days at Siena as Provincial Vicar of the Augustinian Hermits, in 1435. Before his death he had come to regard Bernardino with sincere affection, as is proved by the letter he wrote him which I print in Appendix IV.

On the whole, after making every possible allowance for the rancour of some of Bernardino's adversaries and the groundless alarms of others, it appears to me that there was a *prima facie* case for him to answer, and that Pope Martin could not, consistently with justice, refuse him a public trial, and simply dismiss the proceedings against him as frivolous and vexatious.

Let us now see what Bernardino's teaching on the Name of Jesus really was.² Besides the main object of promoting the glory of his Saviour, Bernardino, in preaching the devotion of the Holy Name, also had it

¹ Bigli's letter to Fr. Antony is contained in the MS. already cited (f. 103 r-112 v). Fr. Matthew, it seems, had asserted that no one could come to a bad end “*qui hoc nomen suo illo ritu coluisse*” ; and insisted that the name should be written Jhesus (f. 104 r).

² It is contained in five of his sermons, viz., 40 “Seraphin” (“Opera,” III, 277); 1 “Extraordinarii” (“Opera,” III, 324, 325); 2 “Eximii” (“Opera,” IV, 9) and 49 “De Ev. Aet.” (“Opera,” II, 292). There are also passages bearing on the subject in “Pred. Volg.,” II, 251, 284, 417, 421 ff.; III, 31-33, 156.

in view to furnish his hearers with a lawful outlet for those feelings which found a vent in the countless degrading superstitions of the time. "Yield honour to Holy Church," he says (40 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 282), "who would not have you wear amulets round your neck, nor trust in superstitious charms, but would have you trust in the Name of Jesus, from which Name any great miracle may proceed; for Jesus Christ Himself hath revealed It to us by His own mouth; and likewise the Saints have displayed It to all the world by mighty miracles. . . . Believe therefore that every power of doing good is comprised in the mighty Name of Jesus, so that, like as thou worshippest Jesus in the flesh, so thou shouldest worship the Name of Jesus. I mean not the carving or the colouring, but the sweetness; not the sign, but the thing signified: for the Name of Jesus signifies to thee the Saviour, the Redeemer, the Son of God. And therefore I suggest that when you stand sponsor to any infant, in lieu of other gifts, you give him one of these silver-gilt tablets of the Name of Jesus . . . that the child may wear it for devotion's sake: not because it is of silver or gold, but because of the virtue residing in that most holy Name; and that when he comes to years of discretion he may understand the devotion of the Name of Jesus, and bear it continually in mind: just like the pictures which represent to you the Blessed Virgin, or the other Saints; for the only purpose of such pictures is, to keep the Saints in mind." It was the use of such tablets that led his opponents (as we have seen) to charge him with idolatry; observe therefore how carefully Bernardino guards himself against the imputation in the sermon just quoted.

Similarly in order to counteract the popular tendency to resort to wizards and enchanters in cases of sickness, he says (49 "De Ev. Aet." "Opera," II, 296): "Nor

should recourse be had to the foolish, mad, and utterly erroneous incantations of some who believe that they are invoking the Name of the Lord, and are [really] invoking the name of the devil in their incantations, because they often mix up with them unknown names, and always put in falsities; though oftentimes they add, as a cloak, *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*. And though, through such insane proceedings some appear to be cured (*liberari*) still, God's judgment permitting it, the devil—for it is he who by his guile causes the adult or child to fall sick—when he is invoked by means of the impious incantation, removes the sickness and weakness from the body by means of infidelity and error [i.e., the infidelity and error of the Enchanter], planting mortal guilt in the soul and heart [of the Enchanter]. . . . But I have found from many trustworthy witnesses in our own time that when the hand has been laid on the sick (according to the Lord's word) they have been delivered on calling on this most holy Name of Jesus; for, as ointment poured forth ministers grace to the body, so the Name of Jesus gives the grace of salvation to the soul; and, what is more wonderful, it has been manifestly proved that even sinners and unbelievers on calling upon this glorious Name have wrought miracles and healed the sick.”¹

Besides being a corrective of superstitious practices, the devotion of the Holy Name was designed by Bernardino as a remedy against the shameful excesses of party-strife. The sacred monogram should supersede

¹ The passage here quoted seems to explain the meaning of that in “Pred. Volg.” III, 122, where Bernardino, speaking of the doings of the witch Finicella (see below, p. 294) says, “E anco disse che n’avea liberati LX, e disse che ogni volta che ella ne liberava niuno, ogni volta si conveniva dare uno membro al diavolo per sacrificio; e davane uno membro di bestia”. The passage is translated in Heywood’s “Ensamples of Fra Filippo,” 308-9; where “spared” should probably be rendered “delivered” or “healed,” whether from sickness or from demoniacal possession (cf. “Gli Assempli di Fra Filippo da Siena,” ed. Carpellini, p. 66).

party emblems and tokens.¹ Thus, when at Viterbo Bernardino made peace between the rival factions of the Gatteschi and the Maganzesi, he earnestly exhorted the people to inscribe the Name of Jesus on their houses, to remind themselves that they must be true Christians united in the Saviour's love.²

The tablets so often referred to bore carved or painted on them the sacred monogram Y H S. Observe that the first letter is not I, but Y representing I, for the reason that Y "signifies in Greek the Son of God".³ The H, which should bear a cross above it,⁴ he regarded as representing the Greek aspirate (see below, p. 159), whence the spelling Jhesus adopted by some of his followers (above, pp. 154, 155 n. 1). These letters forming the monogram were placed in the midst of a Sun with twelve great rays of serpentine form, each of which had on either side of it four lesser rays arranged like organ-pipes increasing gradually in length in proportion to their distance from the great ray, so that the fourth was the longest of all. Thus between one great ray and the next there were eight of the lesser rays; and between each one of the lesser rays and the next was a still smaller ray.⁵ The "Sun" was to be golden, as also were the letters to be inscribed within it; the ground was to be blue, "for that colour signifies faith, for without faith we cannot have glory" ("Opera," III, 325). The rays, of course, formed a circle, and outside them was to be inscribed another circle bearing the inscription "*In nomine*

¹ Cf. above, p. 118, and see below, ch. III., p. 290.

² Cristofori in M.F., IV, 38. Cf. above, p. 143.

³ I "Extr." "Opera," III, 324. He means that the Greek *v* (Latin *y*) is the first letter of ΥΙΟΣ (Son). Presently, with the agility of a mediaeval allegorist he takes Y as representing the Father (*ib.*, p. 325).

⁴ The imposition of the Cross on the letter H is said to have been ordered by Pope Martin V (AA. SS., Oct. X, 320, 322).

⁵ "Opera," III, 324.

Jesu omne genu flectatur coelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum". The colour of the outer circle was to be green. The shape of the tablets might be circular, square, or like a shield (*ib.* 324). To these letters and rays a symbolism is attached which is minutely set forth in sermons 49 "De Ev. Aet." and 1 "Extr." already referred to ; but the following summary from 60 "De Christ. Rel.". ("Opera," I, 315) may here suffice. Bernardino is describing the armour of the knights of God, and, in reference to the shield, he says that it is composed of three layers, the first being the sense of God's protecting power ; the second, the just and glorious cause for which they fight ; "and the third, which is over the others, adorning the whole shield, is the Name of Jesus, viz. Jesus in the midst of the Sun with XII principal solar rays and many little rays, as if flashing in token of the mystery of the Trinity and as a sign of our gracious illumination and salvation through Jesus Christ." I subjoin a specimen of the more elaborate symbolism already mentioned. He is explaining the meaning of the H. "Now take H, in which we note three points. First, that it is not a letter, but a breathing ; secondly, that it is placed in the middle of the alphabet ; thirdly, that it has a tumid body like that of a pregnant woman¹ whereby three things are signified : first the Son of God conceived by the Holy Ghost, and He is the breath of God, in token whereof God breathed the Holy Ghost on His disciples. Secondly, H is the eighth letter in order in the alphabet, to signify the octave of the resurrection and the glory of the blessed ; for the Son of God, by His rising from the dead, is the glory of the blessed. Thirdly, H has a pregnant body to signify that the glorious Virgin . . . : conceived Jesus our Redeemer by the Holy Ghost" (1 "Extr.", "Opera," III, 324).

¹ The letter was of this form 

Such then was the teaching for which Bernardino was now attacked. His enemies had stirred up a strong popular prejudice against him in Rome (cf. above, p. 148). "Some wanted me roasted, others, fried," is his own graphic statement ("Pred. Volg.", I, 98) in alluding to this time. It is needless to say that he bore with meekness the insults and calumnies with which he was assailed ; he was only stirred to anger when his opponents began to attack the "Name of our Salvation" and to deface and destroy the sacred monograms which had been put up in the city when Bernardino had been preaching there before. On this, he wrote to Cardinal Condulmar (who had been bishop of Siena, and became Pope Eugenius IV) ; but it is not known whether his remonstrance had any effect (Al., 258, 259). With reference to his patience under persecution, M. Vegio says,¹ "When he was sometimes asked how he could bear such insults with equanimity, he would answer 'Only leave it to God to act,' or 'God will see to this,' or the like. . . . Once, just after he had been reviled, he was going into his cell to study. His friends, wondering at his calmness, said, 'How, father, can you attend to study now : for it needs the utmost mental calm?'—'Whenever I enter my cell,' he replied, 'all wrongs and insults inflicted on me remain outside the door ; nor do any of these things dare to enter with me ; so that they cannot hinder or trouble me at all'."

Before the public trial the Pope had appointed a commission, composed mainly of Augustinians and Dominicans to examine Bernardino's writings (Wadding, X, 114). Alessio (p. 258) following Amadio,² who cites no authority, says that the commission was presided over by Cardinal Corrado and the recently appointed Cardinals

¹ c. iv, AA. SS., Maii IV, 760.

² pp. 191, 192, ed. 1854.

Albergati and Casini, and that the commission reported that there was nothing to censure in Bernardino's writings. Wadding (X, 114) does not mention the three Cardinals, and merely says that the commissioners when they had finished their inquiry appointed a day for Bernardino's trial.¹ We must take it that they would only do so after ascertaining the Pope's pleasure (cf. above, p. 149).

Meanwhile several of his friars (Wadding, X, 114) came to assist Bernardino in his defence, chief among them being John of Capistrano. Hurrying from Naples, where he was then preaching, high in the favour of Queen Joanna II, he halted at Aquila to gather the necessary papers for his friend's defence, and here he had a large tablet prepared with the sacred monogram painted on it. He was only just in time. Reaching Rome on the very day appointed for the trial (Wadding, X, 114) accompanied by many of the citizens of Aquila, he hoisted the tablet on a pole and bore it through the streets ; doubtless in ignorance of the Pope's prohibition (above, p. 149, n. 1). The fickle Romans, who had perhaps some inkling of the change in the Pope's sentiments towards Bernardino, now made common cause with the new-comers and joined them in chants of devotion and gladness. This popular demonstration, we read (Wadding, X, 114), made a deep impression on Pope Martin, as well it might : seeing that it was headed by no mere ignorant fanatic, but by a man whom he had himself appointed an Inquisitor only the year before (above, ch. I, p. 63). He postponed the trial, and empowered Fr. John to plead for his friend. At length the cause was heard in

¹ In AA. SS., Maii IV, 770, Cardinals Albergati and Casini are mentioned (apparently in connexion with the present proceedings) as having condemned Fr. Manfred (above, p. 150) : but the narrative is very much compressed and mixed up with references to earlier and later proceedings.

S. Peter's church. All that the ingenuity and malevolence of Bernardino's enemies could do, was done. No less than fifty-two doctors of divinity are said to have been arrayed against him, endeavouring to snare him in their toils. "Immortal God," cries Barnabas of Siena,¹ "how they mauled him!" But Bernardino and his advocates² triumphantly refuted the charges against him; the Pope pronounced him innocent, and made him the most ample reparation in his power. He once more summoned him to his presence, "imparted to him the most abundant blessing," empowered him once more fully to preach everywhere and to exhibit (*ostentare*) to the people the most sweet Name of Jesus (Wadding, X, 115). It is probable, as will be shown below (pp. 183-5) that this authorization was accompanied by some restriction as to the use of the tablets as objects of veneration.

According to Fr. Mariano, on the day after Bernardino's acquittal, a solemn procession took place by the Pope's command in which all the clergy took part, and the sacred Name *depictum pro vexillo* was carried round the city³; and thereupon the holy sign was carved or painted on churches and houses all over Rome. Moreover by the Pope's command Bernardino preached in S. Peter's. He preached forty sermons, and then (as we learn from the anonymous biographer) when "his accuser" told the

¹ AA. SS., Maii IV, 743.

² Fr. Matthew of Sicily (see above, pp. 153-5), a Spaniard by birth, who did much to further the cause of the Observance to the devotion of the Holy Name in Sicily, also took part in the proceedings on Bernardino's behalf (Wadding, X, 118). Bernardino had doubtless allowed himself to be overruled in this matter (see above, p. 149; and cf. p. 103). Fr. Matthew afterwards held the See of Girgenti, which he resigned in 1442 (A.F.H., III, 710, n. 2). In "Pred. Volg.," I, 72, Bernardino praises him as one of the very best of his friars.

³ *Compendium Chronicarum FF. Min.* in A.F.H., III, 712.

Pope that that was the whole extent of his repertory, he preached forty more.¹ He preached elsewhere in the city too, "the Lord often confirming the discourse by the signs that followed" (Wadding, X, 115); and he himself tells us that he delivered 114 sermons during this time ("Pred. Volg.," II, 420). The Pope also granted Bernardino an oratory in the city wherein to found a Confraternity of the Holy Name. This oratory, which was subsequently given to S. Ignatius Loyola, who was a great admirer of our Saint, stood on the site of the existing stately church of the Gesù (Al., 263). At Florence, when the news of Bernardino's triumph came, the sacred monogram was put up on the front of the church of S. Croce (*ib.*).

The sudden revulsion of feeling in the Roman populace filled Bernardino with wonder, and, as he tells us himself ("Pred. Volg.," I, 98), forcibly reminded him of the mutability of earthly things; and led him to urge on his Sienese hearers the much-needed lesson of steadiness and sobriety of conduct. He found, however, some things to commend in the Romans; thus he declares that he had not seen any painted women in Rome, whereas they abounded in Siena (op. cit., III, 205); and he rejoiced over the liberality with which money had been raised for the redemption of some thirty imprisoned debtors (op. cit., II, 59). Æneas Sylvius mentions² that Bernardino while in Rome brought about the removal of railings in front of the citizens' houses, which had served as a protection to murderers; for by custom, a murderer could not be arrested so long as he was within the railings, while the friends of the murdered

¹ A.B., XXV, 323. The "accuser" may have been one Bartholomew, an Augustinian doctor of divinity (see below, p. 181.).

² Extract from "De viris illustribus" in "Opera S. Bernardini," I, XLIV.

man were allowed to get at the murderer in his sanctuary by force, if they could.

Bernardino's trial must have been over before 14 May, for we find the Government of Siena on that day resuming their negotiations for his appointment as their bishop, and urging their late bishop Cardinal Casini, now translated to the See of Grosseto, to procure from the Pope the appointment of Bernardino as his successor.¹ On 4 June the Cardinal was able to inform them that Bernardino had been appointed.² Nothing could induce him to accept the dignity. Here is his own account, given two months afterwards, of his refusal of the See:³ "What do you think was the cause of my coming here? It was because I heard that there was a great division among you, and it was described as even greater than it was. And I said to myself, if I do good to others, am I not the more bound to do good to my fellow-citizens?⁴ Of course I am! And I tell you that for the love I bear to you all, every evil report I heard of you was a bombard to me. And had it not been for the matter of the bishopric, I should have come directly

¹ Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Concist. Delib." *ann. 1427*, f. 29; (cf. above, p. 146).

² Letter in Wadding, X, 115: also in Pecci, "Storia del Vescovado della Città di Siena" (Lucca, 1748), p. 316.

³ It is interesting to find that the Government of Siena, when they found it was hopeless to get Bernardino as their bishop, took counsel with him as to the person whom they should submit to the Pope for the appointment (Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Delib. Concist." *ann. 1427*: 3, 5, 6 Sept., ff. 5, 6).

⁴ His position as peacemaker was fortified by the fact that on 12 August, three days before he began to preach, he had been associated, by the Council of the People, with the past and present Chief Magistrates of the city in a Commission whose business it was "to apply themselves to the union and peace of the citizens of Siena" (Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Delib. Concist." *ann. 1427*, f. 28). On 28 August the operations of the Commission were extended to the whole of the Contado (*ib.*, f. 65).

after Whitsuntide¹ but I was determined to look to myself before anyone else! *In monte salvum te jac*—do the first thing, save thyself! I only staid on [at Rome] for fear of being ensnared [at Siena]; for had I come as soon [as I should have liked] I should not have had such a free hand. If I had come as you wanted me to come, I mean as your bishop, my mouth would have been half shut. Look! I should have been like this! [He made the gesture of closing his mouth] for I could only have spoken with my mouth shut. And [so] I determined to come as I have come, so as to speak freely, as I do: for in this way I shall be able to say what I want to, and talk to you more at my ease about everything, and boldly warn you against your sins" ("Pred. Volg.", II, 69, 70).

Knowing what we do of Bernardino's character, it is strange to find that his friend Cardinal Condulmar should have felt called upon to warn him against accepting the perilous dignity. Bernardino, when the message reached him, took the messenger by the hand, and after thanking him for his wholesome counsel, said: "Tell the Cardinal I pledge him my faith that I will never do anything so foolish!" (Wadding, X, 117). To his biographer Maffeo Vegio, at that time Datary in Pope Martin's Curia, he used similar language. "He told me," says Maffeo, "that he would spend the five days that remained to him (thus indicating the shortness of human life) much more comfortably if he declined such a burdensome honour." And then (Maffeo adds) he would go on to say in fun that it would really mean a great loss of dignity to him, for he would then merely receive the honour due to the bishop of one city, whereas now he was received with all the reverence due to its

¹ The sequence of events shows that *Pasqua* here stands for Whitsuntide, not Easter. Whitsunday fell on 8 June.

bishop in every city he entered.¹ Bernardino's friend the celebrated Superior of the Camaldoleses monks, Ambrogio Traversari,² likewise misconceived Bernardino's character so far as to entreat him to "fly from this evil, this ruin of souls" lest men should say that he had used his preaching powers as a stepping-stone to preferment. One day about this time Bernardino, who during his stay in Rome lodged at the convent of Araceli (now a barrack) called one of the friars to him and said, "I have good news for you, so let us rejoice for evermore!"—"What is it?"—"Why, the Sienese have unanimously chosen me for their bishop. Don't you think that is a fine thing?"—"O father, do not throw away all your labour and the fruits of it for such a trifling and shadowy good." "But what (Bernardino continued) if the Milanese wanted me for their Archbishop?³ You would not think that should be set at naught?"—"The greater a thing is, the more ought it to be despised if you do not desire to condemn to eternal infamy yourself and the other preachers who will come after you!" "Ah (said Bernardino) but suppose the Pope appoints me Patriarch, do you not advise me to accept gladly and gratefully?"—The simple friar, saddened by these words, replied, "Ah, now I see that your mind has been turned aside to these vain worldly advantages, for the sake of which you will lose the people's affection which you have gotten with such toil, and, worse still, God's favour!"—"But suppose I become Cardinal?" The friar was staggered at the thought, and then, after a pause, said: "There's no doubt about the answer now! Who would not be won over by such an exalted position?

¹ Wadding, X, 116.

² "A. Traversarii Epistolæ," l. II, Ep. 39.

³ It is said that the See of Milan was offered to Bernardino by Filippo Maria Visconti (Sanctes Boncor in his "Life of S. Bernardino," ch. vi.; "La Verna," ann. IX, p. 403).

Take off thy little cord, father, and do what thou art going to do!" Then Bernardino, seeing that the time for jesting was over, reprimanded the friar pretty sharply, and told him that he would refuse not only the bishopric of Siena, but any dignity however exalted, even the Papacy itself, and would deem himself far better off in the lowly life of Francis than in any station however high (Wadding X, 117).

On his departure from Rome, after a brief visit to Florence, Bernardino went to Siena in the circumstances already stated (above, p. 164) at the request of the Pope and Cardinal Casini. Of his preaching on this occasion a full account is given below (ch. III. pp. 280 ff.), and I will only mention here that in spite of his triumph at Rome, backbiters were still working against him in Siena. He had been attacked from the pulpit before his arrival ; and he bitterly complained that he could not get his opponents to meet him face to face. "I have never yet been in any town to preach," he said,¹ "where I have been more slandered in sermons. Now I am come here : if anyone has anything to say, let him say it now that I am here, for I will answer him." The challenge was not accepted, and in a later sermon (op. cit., II. 419, 420) he reminds his hearers that the same thing had happened two years before ; then, as now, he had offered to meet his opponents face to face ; then, as now, no one came forward ; but a storm of detraction broke out as soon as he had gone away again. Bernardino's words were uttered in the face of the people of Siena assembled in the Campo : very different is Bigli's version of the affair written some time afterwards, on hearsay, in his cell at Bologna. He tells us²

¹ "Pred. Volg.," II, 282.

² "De institutis," etc. MS. cited f. 93 r. I have no doubt that Bigli and Bernardino are referring to the same occurrence. Cf. es-

that it was Bernardino's opponent, an Augustinian friar named Gabriel of Spoleto, who challenged Bernardino to a public discussion, and that Bernardino, afraid to meet his assailant, sheltered himself behind the skirts of the Government of Siena. The reader may be glad to have de' Bigli's own words before him, for they give a good idea of the kind of stories that our Saint's enemies put about. "*Audivi ego cum Senis cuidam ex fratribus nostris Gabrieli Spoletano praedicando respondere velles —nam ille tuum hunc morem (i.e. his alleged use of the name of Jesus to the exclusion of our Lord's other names) subaccusasse ac tacite damnasse videbatur—dixisse te homini responsurum qui esset quidem doctissimus theologiae professor, verum in decretalibus non valde exercitatus; quamquam non es ausus. Unde te ille in disputationem vocabat publice respondere; quin pocius te Senensium magistratui tuendum tradidisti quam ut cum tanto viro disputationem susciperes. Quanto igitur melius ex apostolicis exemplum in tuis praedicationibus, quam ex decretalibus epistolis sumpsisse; quamquam facilius conceditur te (ut fateris) sacras litteras nescisse, quam decretorum didicisse. Quem sane usum te in sermonibus tuis tenere aiunt ut raro scripturae auctoritatem interponas.*" The effrontery of the concluding suggestion, that Bernardino was chary of quoting Scripture, could hardly be surpassed.

As we have seen (p. 155 above) Bernardino's fervent charity conquered Bigli at last; and so now it conquered Gabriel of Spoleto, for two days later Bernardino was able to tell his congregation that he was going that very morning "to eat at the expense of him whom you think to be my greatest enemy".¹

pecially with Bigli's words Bernardino's reading out a passage from the Decretals to his audience ("Pred. Volg.", II, 422).

¹ "Pred. Volg.", III, 12. Aeneas Sylvius, referring to this person, says that he was esteemed a great preacher, and was famous as a

From Siena, Bernardino went to preach at Lucca, where he arrived in September.¹ Here his preaching made a deep impression, typified, as Alessio suggests (280, 281) by the legendary accounts of a flame of fire seen one day to issue from his mouth, of a star shining over his head, and of a blazing torch which preceded him as he walked along. Urging his hearers to repentance, he is said to have warned them of the impending war with Florence,² in the words "Hear you not the noise of the drums coming from the mountains? See you not the birds that are flying through the air? (The birds being the balls fired from bombards.) But know that at Easter (*per la Pasqua*) they will hurt no one."³ And in fact the war did not break out till 1430.

From Lucca, Bernardino must have returned to Siena, since, as we learn from the autograph MS. of the "De Evangelio Aeterno" (see below, Appendix, pp. 354-5), he was engaged, in the latter part of 1427 and the earlier part of 1428, in the composition of that course of sermons at Siena. On this occasion he stayed in *ven-erabili conventu Senarum*, which must mean the convent of S. Francesco where he had been admitted to the Order twenty-six years before; and where he could enjoy the advantage of a first-rate library (cf. Hefele, p. 14). In Lent, his labours at Siena were interrupted by his memorable visit to Arezzo and his subsequent hurried journey to Milan (see above, pp. 139, 140); but we have no further information concerning his doings in this year.

On 22 February, 1429, Bernardino was at Venice,

divine and philosopher; but was not Bernardino's equal in holiness, "wherefore he did not draw such large congregations: and he envied him in secret and disparaged him in sermons" (Extract from "De viris illustribus" in "Opera S. Bernardini," I, XLIV.).

¹ Amadio, 218 (ed. 1854).

² Cf. "Pred. Volg.," I, 361, 362.

³ Amadio, ed. 1854, p. 220.

for on that day he wrote thence to Francesco Marchi (otherwise di Marco) of Siena, called Pecorario, to congratulate him on the birth to him of a son in his old age. By the kindness of Cav. Mengozzi I am able to give a photographic reproduction of the original autograph in the Communal Library at Siena.¹ The letter is as follows:—

"Carissimo nostro, post salutem que est in Christo Jesu. Ho veduta la lettera avete scripta al nostro fra Vincenzo et del desiderio avete sentire di noi compreso per la sua continentia, et per lo scrivere avete facto del nato vostro fanciullo, et del nome impostogli, etc. A quella mo per questa ho voluto in suo luogho per vostra consolatione rispondare che in eterno benedico Dio che ha voluto in questo tempo de la vostra età darve tale figliuolo, et ben pare che nova Abraham vada suscitando quando li piace. Santificate a la sua Bonità che cusì fare li è piaciuto, et rendeteli gracie del dato dono al quale Dio benedica ne la benedictione e posterità di figliuoli. Altro non per questa. Ex Venetiis die XXII Februarii, 1429.

*"Frater Bernardinus de Senis,
" Ordinis Minorum."*

The address is:—

*Carissimo in Christo Jesu Francisco Marchi dicto
Pecorario de Senis.*

We learn from a document in the Archivio di Stato at Siena² that Bernardino's correspondent was the beadle of the Palazzo Pubblico, to whom as such on 25 October, 1427, the city fathers handed over the canvas which they had bought for the partition between the sexes at Bernardino's preaching in August and Sep-

¹ Cod. T. III, 3. The letter has only been printed before in "Dieci Lettere di Senesi Illustri dei secoli XV e XVI, per nozze Banchi-Brini," Siena, 1878.

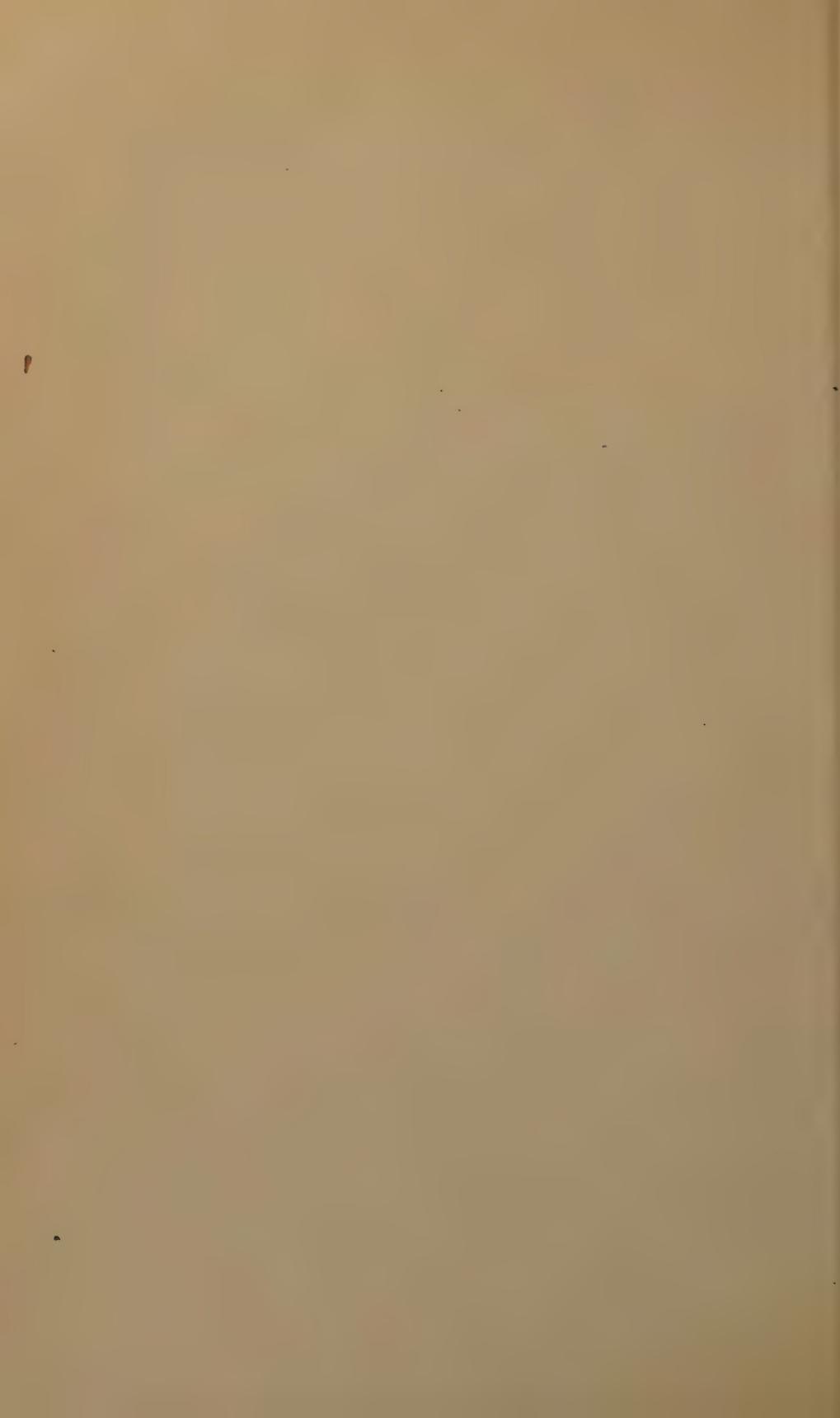
² "Concist. Delib." ann. 1427, 25 October, f. 31.

ansimo tuo pof. salut. et i' 29 febbraio ho ueduta la t' aueue scriota al tuo fratre monico et del desiderio
avera fentì d'ieni co' q[ui]e la sua conterna / Et per lo scrivere diue
impostoli e' x' qualia mo' po' quefta ho nolto / suo luogo / dona gl' opon rifiuon de
che ha uoluto i' quiffo de la mia etia dareue t'ha fegnalo / Et ben pare che noua abuona uada / u' u' latendo
che l'hauece / Quanfucata a la sua bonita che au' far la u' piaciuto / Et rendeteli que eli dato ch'eno alquel
due bendicte nella benedictione / e' po' fecta / Altro no' p[er] q[ui]a / f[or]mo / v[er]o et se die

xxii febbraio 1489

Bernardino da Siena

AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM S. BERNARDINO TO FRANCESCO MARCHI
(Biblioteca Comunale, Siena)



tember,¹ for stuffing the seats in the Palazzo (*ut ex ipso faciat foderari banchalia palatii*).

On 28 May in this year 1429 the Government wrote to ask Bernardino to return to Siena,² but we do not know where he was when the letter reached him, or whether he was able to comply with the request. He must have spent some time this year in Rome, whither, as we have seen (above, ch. I. p. 65) all the Observants had been summoned to answer the charges brought against them by the Conventuals; and he was most likely present at the eventful Chapter-general at Assisi in 1430 (above, ch. I. p. 66).

During this period of his life it is probable that he first came in contact with his future friend, disciple, and colleague, Fr. Jacopo dalla Marca, who, as we have seen (above, ch. I. p. 63) had received the Pope's commission to preach against the Fraticelli in the March of Ancona in 1426. At some unknown date about the period 1428-30 Bernardino visited Fabriano and Roccacontrada (now known as Arcevia), where, as we learn from an eighteenth century inscription in S. Francesco, he converted the Conventuals there to the Strict Observance (M.F., VII. 108).

Early in 1431 Bernardino was once more in Siena, engaged in a fruitless attempt to prevent his fellow-citizens from making war on Florence in support of their ally the Duke of Milan. Pope Eugenius IV, who had now succeeded Pope Martin, had sent Cardinal Albergati to Siena at the same time for the same purpose (Al., 290). Bernardino had arrived from the March of Ancona, and delivered his sermons in the Cathedral.³ It was in this year that his refusal of the vacant bishopric of Ferrara must have occurred, since there was no other

¹ See below, ch. III. p. 281.

² Archivio di Stato in Siena, "Concist. Copialettere," n. 1632.

³ Barnabas of Siena in AA. SS., Maii IV, 744.

vacancy of that See during the rest of his life.¹ From Siena he seems to have gone once more into Romagna, for we learn from an interesting passage of the MS. chronicle of Giovanni di Maestro Pedrino of Forlì² that Bernardino made a month's stay in that city in the summer of 1431. He began preaching on Tuesday, 29 May,³ at the Observants' convent, before a large congregation; next day he preached "*ai fra menuri*," i.e. to the Conventuals, or perhaps merely "at their church". The following day (Corpus Christi) there was apparently no sermon; and on Friday, 1 June, he began preaching "*in piazza*" from a platform of unusual height placed "under Benjamin's house," the preacher facing the Palazzo. As at Siena in 1427 (see below, p. 281) he divided the sexes by a partition. It is evident from the chronicler's words that the tenor of the sermons was much the same as at Siena: as he had done there, so here he used the two words "*Timete Deum*" as a text for several discourses (see below, p. 278). Our informant notes the preacher's passionate denunciation of party-strife, and his "laying bare the truth without complaisance to anyone, so that a man like that would be of great advantage to any town". Such was the preacher's zeal, that on 2 June the municipal authorities issued a proclamation restraining the extravagance of women's dress; and the names are given of three tailors who were made to swear to make no more trains for women's gowns. On 2 July Bernardino left Forlì.

Immediately after Bernardino had left Siena, his detractors in that city had raised the old cry of heresy

¹ AA. SS., Maii IV, 723.

² Printed by Prof. G. Mazzatinti in M.F., V, 33.

³ The chronicler's date "*29 de marzo*" is obviously wrong, since 29 March that year was a Thursday—Maundy-Thursday in fact. Similarly just afterwards he says that Corpus Christi fell on 31 March (Easter-eve!) instead of 31 May as was really the case.

and idolatry against him. They seem to have hoped for a more favourable hearing from Pope Eugenius than they had had from Pope Martin. Warned by his friends of what was happening, Bernardino returned to Siena, and refuted the calumnies. A solemn procession was decreed in which the chief magistrates and clergy took part, and the sacred monogram was ordered to be painted *e regione domus civicæ* (Wadding, X, 188). I have been unable to discover to what these latter words refer. After this, Bernardino went to Bologna and preached "for many days" in the vast Church of S. Petronio, "displaying the tablet with the sacred monogram for veneration at the end of the sermon" (Wadding, X, 188). Then he went on into Romagna; but his enemies were still on the alert; a member of some other religious order preached against him in the same church (A.B., XXV, 319) and he was denounced to the Inquisitor Ludovico Pisano, who ordered a painting of the sacred monogram executed some years before above the high altar in S. Petronio to be obliterated, and a figure of Christ on the cross to be substituted for it.¹ The Canons of S. Petronio were of course very angry, and disturbances broke out in the city, in consequence of which the Pope sharply reprimanded the Inquisitor and gave orders that the monogram should be painted above the figure of the Crucified, or, if there were not room for this (as proved to be the case) that a fresh picture should be painted with the figure of the Crucified and the monogram above it.² Still the Saint's opponents would not give in. Availing themselves of a regulation made by Martin V in the Council of Constance whereby a secret process might be instituted

¹ See A.B., XXV, 330.

² Wadding, l.c., cf. A.B., XXV, 338-9. The two pictures are now in the church of S. Paolo al Monte (l'Osservanza) near Bologna (Mariotti, "Il Nome di Gesù ed i Francescani" (Fano, 1909), 99).

against Religious who were suspected of heresy, they set in motion the official known as *Procurator et Promotor causarum fidei in Romana Curia*, and on 21 November, 1431, Bernardino and some other friars were cited to appear at Rome, and did appear before Cardinal Casanova, a Dominican, to answer the charges brought against them, which charges had been founded on the evidence of false witnesses produced by the above-named official.¹ The proceedings, as has been said, were secret; and were even conducted without the Pope's knowledge. However, while they were still pending, he was informed by the Sienese Government and Cardinal Casini of what was going on; and removed the cause to his own jurisdiction.² Finding that the charges against Bernardino were baseless, he issued on 7 January, 1432, the Bull already mentioned, whereby he quashed all the proceedings before Cardinal Casanova, and not only acquitted Bernardino, but spoke of him in terms of the highest eulogy.³ It may be noted that by a document of the same date⁴ issued by Cardinal Casanova (the Cardinal of S. Sisto) discharging Bernardino from the citation, it is stated that the proceedings had been initiated in secret consistory by Cardinal Giordano Orsini with the Pope's approval! On the next day

¹ The facts here stated appear from the Bull of exculpation subsequently issued by the Pope (Wadding, X, 189).

² The Sienese Government did not apparently get wind of the proceedings for some time; only on 28 December, 1431, did they write an urgent letter to their ambassador at Rome instructing him to get the citation withdrawn, or at least deferred till after Easter, so as to allow Bernardino time to finish his [Lenten] sermons (Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Concist. Copialettere," n. 1637).

³ The fees (2 Ducats only) for this and other necessary Bulls were paid for Bernardino by the Government of Siena (Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Registri di Biceherna," ann. 1432; Maggio, 14, f. 27).

⁴ Donati in "Bull. Senese di Storia Patria," I, 64, n. 2. This document is in the Communal Library at Siena (U, iv. 10, no. vii).

Cardinal Casini wrote to the Sienese Government briefly announcing Bernardino's acquittal (Wadding, X, 189). This was the end of the matter, so far as the Holy See was concerned ; though, as we shall find, it was brought before the Council of Basel in 1438, after that assembly had become schismatical (below, p. 180).

I may here state that the perpetuity of the devotion of the Holy Name, the orthodoxy of which had been so triumphantly vindicated, was assured when, in 1530, Pope Clement VII sanctioned the celebration of a Feast of the Name of Jesus throughout the Franciscan Order on 14 January in every year, and at the same time approved of an Office for such a festival which had been composed in the latter part of the fifteenth century by another eloquent Bernardino, Blessed Bernardino de' Busti, who had tried in vain to get his office sanctioned by Popes Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII. The festival was extended to the whole Church by Pope Innocent XIII in 1721, and its observance fixed for the second Sunday after the Epiphany.¹

It may be inferred from the document cited in the last note but three that Bernardino preached during Lent, 1432, at Siena, though the document does not state where he was engaged to preach.

Later in the year he spent some time at Como (cf. above, p. 119), lodging with the Conventuals. He effected a temporary reconciliation between the Guelphs and Ghibellines ; and on some of the houses the sacred monogram carved at his suggestion, still exists.² For

¹ Amadio, p. 199 (ed. 1854). It would seem from a document in the Arch. di Stato in Siena ("Delib. Concist." ann. 142⁵ Gennaio 1, f. 3), that Bernardino had taken upon himself, in 1425, to institute in Siena a Festival of the Name of Jesus to be observed twice a year, viz. on the Circumcision (1 January), and on Whit-Tuesday ; for that on the latter day he "*mostrò a tutto il popolo l'istesso Nome di Gesù, e l'offerse all' adorazione*". Cf. above, p. 135.

² Al., 300; Wadding, XI, 86.

this visit to the Duchy of Milan he had been provided with a special recommendation from the Government of Siena to the Duke ; for, as we learn from a document of 27 November, 1432,¹ the latter, in his instructions to Marsilio da Carrara and Corradino Vimercati, concerning the answer they are to give to the Sienese envoy, says, “*Quo vero ad illa que retulit de fratre Bernardino, respondeatis quod eum et quoscamque virtuosos homines semper gratissimos et acceptissimos haberemus, maxime Senenses,*” etc.

We come now to a curious episode in our Saint's life, viz. the friendship he contracted with the Emperor Sigismund at Siena. The presence of the Emperor there at this time needs some explanation. The Council of Basel, which had been summoned very reluctantly by Martin V, early in 1431, had been formally opened in the following July ; and it had soon become evident that its members were determined to assert and enforce the fundamental principle that a General Council is the superior of a Pope. Eugenius IV, Martin's successor, on his side, was striving with might and main to bring about a dissolution of the Council, or at least to get the control of its proceedings into his own hands. Sigismund was closely identified with the doings of the Council, of which indeed he had formally constituted himself the Protector ; he was, moreover, interested in its continuance, in the hope that it would secure a settlement of the religious strife that had so long broken up the tranquillity of his kingdom of Bohemia. He had been elected Emperor as long ago as 1411, and now (1431) determined to proceed to Rome for his imperial coronation. He set out in the autumn, and on 25 November received the Iron Crown of Lombardy at Milan. But unfortunately he had neglected to make terms with

¹ Luigi Osio, “Documenti Diplomatici tratti dagli Archivi Milanesi” (Milan, 1872), vol. III, part i., pp. 100, 101.

the Pope before starting on his expedition ; and as he had no adequate military force wherewith to coerce the Pontiff, while his ally Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, from whom he had expected great things, failed to give him any effectual help, he found himself in July, 1432, stranded at Siena, much to his own mortification and to the annoyance of the government of that city. It was not till April, 1433, that he effected an arrangement with the Pope, and during this interval he became acquainted with Bernardino. It is uncertain how the acquaintance began, but it soon ripened into a close friendship, and, on Sigismund's side, into a veritable infatuation. He visited the holy man daily, we are told,¹ or at any rate went to hear him preach or say Mass, and if a day passed without a meeting, he reckoned that day lost. Finally, he carried Bernardino off to Rome with him for the coronation, which was performed by the Pope on 31 May, 1433. Alessio suggests (p. 305), and it is by no means unlikely, that Bernardino may have done something towards effecting the agreement between Sigismund and Eugenius IV. A trace of Bernardino's intercourse with the Emperor occurs in the sermon on the Sixth Beatitude ("Opera," III, 48), where, explaining the meaning of the word *paropsis*, he says that it was a square dish such as Magnates are wont to eat from, "as the Emperor and his Barons used to do when he came into Italy". After the coronation Bernardino returned to Siena ;² and spent a considerable time, two or three years in fact, in the Convent of La Capriola (see above, pp. 102-4). He had now, as we have seen, been preaching more or less continuously for twenty-eight years, during which he had travelled on foot up and down the whole of Northern and Central

¹ "Vita ex Surio," c. 48; "Opera," I, xxviii.

² His accompanying the Emperor on his return journey as far as Aquila is doubtful (Al., 307).

Italy, and it is no wonder that he found a prolonged period of quiet and repose of body and mind necessary before he could resume his preaching of the Gospel. It will be seen from Appendix II that most of the sermons written by S. Bernardino that we possess were composed either earlier or later than this period of retirement ; so that Thureau-Dangin's statement¹ that the Saint wrote his sermons at this time must be taken with some qualification : and Alessio is more correct in saying (p. 307) that Bernardino now employed himself in *revising* sermons already written. This agrees with Barnabas of Siena's statement : "*Fr. Bernardinus Senam rediens complures suos libros . . . perfecit, eosque in lucem . . edidit,*"² and with the words attributed to Bernardino at Perugia in 1425 by Bigli³ that his sermons were "*jam vulgatos probatosque.*"

Bernardino's retirement was not, however, absolute, for, in accordance with an invitation addressed to him by the Sienese Government on 1 January, 1434,⁴ he preached a Lenten course in S. Francesco ; and on 1 March, 1434,⁵ the government ordered a provision of bread, wine, and other necessaries for him for every day that he was preaching there.⁶

In 1435 he preached his second Lenten course at Gubbio, as appears from the records of that city, where we find a decree of the chief magistrates appointing on 1 March (Shrove-Tuesday) a committee to make the requisite arrangements, "for hearing the sermons of the Ven. Fr. Bernardino".⁶ Earlier in the year, according to

¹ "S. Bernardino da Siena," Ital. trans. C. iv., p. 180.

² AA. SS., Maii IV, 745.

³ "De institutis," etc. MS. cited f. 94 v.: Bigli's words are also quoted by Ronzoni (p. 38, n. 1).

⁴ Archivio di Stato in Siena, "Concist. Copialettere," n. 1642.

⁵ Ib., "Concist. Delib." ad ann. 1433, vol. 409, f. 1. Lent began that year on 10 February.

⁶ M.F., IV, 150; Al., 351.

Alessio (l.c.) he had preached at Cortona. On 6 September we find the Priors of Siena choosing Bernardino as their ambassador to invite the Pope to visit the baths [of Petriuolo]; he was to start next day and no refusal was to be admitted. He did refuse, however, and a substitute was appointed.¹ In the same year the Pope vainly urged him to accept the See of Urbino (A.B., XXV, 314 n. 3).

In 1436 he visited Genoa and Chiavari in Liguria.² At Chiavari was a hospital dedicated to S. Alessio, and served by tertiaries of the Franciscan Order known as *Suore della Misericordia*. Bernardino, finding that the life of these Sisters was not very edifying, persuaded them to adopt the strict Rule of the Clarisses; and after his death the hospital was called by his name, and a sandal he had left behind was preserved there as a relic. He again visited Chiavari in 1439 (Olmi, 288) and Alessio assigns his reform of the Sisters to the latter year. I may here mention a statement by the author of the "Vita ex Surio" ("Opera," I, xxiv.), who says, without giving any date, that "when the holy man was sent to Jerusalem he was made Guardian of that 'place,' and also in Bethlehem, and Commissary of the Holy Land". Fr. Francis of Rimini, in his note cited above (ch. I. pp. 74-5), likewise speaks of Bernardino's having held the office of "Minister of the Holy Land" at the time when at the Chapter-general of Padua in 1443 he voted for the election of Antonio de' Rusconi (above, ch. I. p. 79). Mr. A. G. Little points out (A.F.H., II, 164, n. 7) that Bernardino's name is not in the list of Superiors of the Holy Land published by G. Golubovich,³ nor does it appear

¹ Archivio di Stato in Siena, "Concist. Delib." ann. 1435, f. 5. On the Baths of Petriuolo, see Heywood "The Examples of Fra Filippo," 75 ff., where much curious information about this fashionable watering-place will be found.

² Olmi, 287, 288, from local information.

³ "Serie cronologica dei Rev^{mi} superiori di Terra Santa," Jerusalem, 1888.

in what is believed to be the most ancient list of such Superiors, published in M.F., I, 61 : and the notion that Bernardino ever held office in the Holy Land, or indeed ever went there at all, was long ago exploded by Amadio.¹

Reference may here be made to a visit which Bernardino paid to Corneto (near the Mediterranean coast, about sixty miles north-west of Rome) at some unknown date. He was preaching there out of doors one Ascension-Day about sunrise, when it began to rain. "You see," he said, when the congregation showed signs of dispersing, "*I am exposed to the wet just like you! Let no one go away; but let us all say Paternoster and Ave Maria, that God from on high may look upon us and show us His brightness.*" And so they all knelt down in prayer, and immediately the rain ceased (A.B., XXV, 335). Near the place of preaching was a cottage with a little garden full of cocks and hens, whose crowing and clucking made such a noise that Bernardino could not go on with his sermon: and so he spoke to the birds and ordered them to be quiet, whereupon they all ceased their clamour, and remained where they were, on walls, trees, or bushes, until the sermon was over (*ib.*).

In April, 1437, Bernardino must have been in Lombardy since, as we know from a document in the Communal Library of Siena,² on the 18th of that month the Minister-general, William of Casale, instituted him as his Commissary over the convent of S. Giacomo by Pavia, and in particular authorized him to receive novices there.

In 1438 Bernardino's enemies, despairing of obtaining his condemnation by the Holy See, brought the case before the Council of Basel. They seem to have abandoned the charge of heresy, and to have confined themselves to attacking the devotion of the Holy Name and the exhibition of the tablets.

¹ Ed. 1744, p. 33².

² U. IV. 10, n. 2.

In June, the Augustinian friar, Bartholomew,¹ who, according to the anonymous biographer (A.B., XXV, 323) was either the same person who had been the "accuser" in the proceedings of 1427 (above, p. 162) or someone acting at his instigation, demanded that the case should be taken into consideration and that a *libellus* composed by Bernardino should be submitted to examination by the Council. This proposal was strenuously resisted by a Minorite theologian (Andrea da Malvenda) and one Ludovico "*de Urbe prothonotarius*" : but on the president of the Council, Louis d'Allemand, Cardinal of Arles, stating that the veneration of the tablets had been forbidden by Pope Martin V, and on others affirming that Bernardino had thereupon ceased to exhibit them, the matter dropped.² Bernardino's anonymous biographer, however, gives a different account of the affair. He says (A.B., XXV, 324 ff.) that the Presidents [*sic*] of the Council had no sooner heard the accuser's speech than they cried : "Where is this man?" and that on hearing that he was in the diocese of Milan, they wrote a letter to the Duke of Milan demanding that he should forthwith send Bernardino to them. When the Duke had read the letter, he sent for Bernardino and asked him what the meaning of the sending of such a letter was. Bernardino answered that he could not tell, but that it had the same origin as the accusation against him that had been made some while ago before the Pope ; and he gave the Duke a true account of the whole business, whereupon the Duke bade him remain without fear in his dominions and leave the case in his hands.

¹ John of Segovia in "Monumenta Conciliorum Generalium Conc. Basil. Script.," III, pars I., pp. 154, 155.

² Labbé, "Sacrosancta Concilia," XIII, 1561. Cf. John of Segovia *ubi supra*.

Now, although our biographer's account of what took place at Basel can hardly stand against the authority of John of Segovia, it is clear from the latter's narrative that some communications from Basel prejudicial to Bernardino, whether official, or feigning to be so, did reach the Duke, and that he thereupon wrote in September officially to the Council remonstrating with them for having allowed Bernardino to be accused before them. I consider, therefore, that our biographer's account of the doings of the Duke at Milan may probably be accepted as genuine, bearing in mind how well-informed he generally shows himself to be about matters which he narrates in detail. According to our biographer, then, the Duke (Filippo Maria Visconti) summoned an assembly of learned men, informed them of the letter he had received from the Council, and directed them to inquire into the case. They did so, and reported that Bernardino was a messenger from God and his doctrine true and Catholic. The Duke hereupon taunted them with their presumption in thinking themselves wiser than the Council, and bade them reconsider the case. This, therefore, they did, paying special attention to Bernardino's teaching on the Name of Jesus. They then presented a fresh report, adhering to their former opinion, and enlarging on the salutary results that had been effected by the holy man's preaching. The Duke then, with a smile, expressed his concurrence with the experts, reminded them of the tests he had himself applied to Bernardino when the friar had first come to Milan, and related the two stories given above (pp. 109-11). Our biographer then gives the text of the Duke's letter to the Council, omitting the date, which, however, we know from John of Segovia (*ubi supra*) to have been in September, 1438. The Duke informs the Council of the inquiry he had himself set on foot and its result, of the affair of the

picture in S. Petronio at Bologna,¹ and concludes with a strongly-worded remonstrance to the fathers at Basel, and an exhortation to punish Bernardino's accuser, professing, on behalf of the experts who had tried his case at Milan, their readiness to suffer any injury or punishment provided they might "defend Fr. Bernardino with truth and justice". The Duke's letter was debated by the Council on its arrival, and the question of the legality of the veneration of the tablets was again discussed; but no definite decision seems to have been arrived at.²

In the course of the discussion it was freely stated that "since the Pope's inhibition" (i.e. the decision of Martin V in 1427) "Bernardino had discontinued that cultus" (i.e. the veneration of the tablets) and "had not preached it specially," and this, coupled with the president's similar assertion in the previous June (see above, p. 181) raises the question whether Pope Martin in acquitting Bernardino of heresy, imposed any restriction on his use of the tablet?³ The explicit statements of Mariano (above, p. 162) and of Wadding (*ibid.*, and p. 173), whose accuracy in general may be depended on, and who had access to the most authentic sources of information, might lead one to conclude that no restrictions

¹ See above, pp. 173-5. In the course of his account the Duke quotes in full the letters written by Eugenius IV to the Canons of S. Petronio, the civic authorities of Bologna, and the Inquisitor.

² *Concludebat igitur* (*sc. presidens concilii* apparently) *quod ad nihil aliud procederetur, nisi quod fuerat in Italia reprobatum, cum se ad alias naciones extenderet, ut per concilium reprobaretur, aut de cultu illo, prout visum foret judicaretur.* (John of Segovia, *ubi supra*).

³ According to L'Umbria Serafica (M.F., IV, 122) Pope Martin had in 1420 at the instance of Fr. Manfred (see above, pp. 113-14) forbidden Bernardino to display the tablet, and Bernardino had obeyed. If this be correct, the prohibition must have been withdrawn afterwards, else there would have been no foundation for the proceedings against Bernardino in 1427.

were imposed. But on the other hand we have the statement of *Æneas Sylvius*¹ that Bernardino was ordered no more to set forth (*offerre*) the Name for adoration by the people; we have the assertions in the Council of Basel; and a similar assertion by Domenico Buoninsegni;² and we have the following passage from S. Antonino, Bishop of Florence:³ “*Martinus Papa, habita prius solemni per magistratos et prælatos discussione materiæ et rationis, adinventione illa* (i.e. the tablet) *ut superstitiosa et periculosa ostensa, prohibuit illud amplius fieri, nec populis sic ostendi. Quod Bernardinus, filius obedientiæ, humiliter mandatum acceptavit, et integre observavit;*” which is confirmed by Poggio.⁴

Even more important are the repeated references to restrictions imposed on Bernardino made by Andrea de' Bigli in his above-named work, “*De institutis, etc., Fr. Bernardini*”. The following are the passages in point:—

(a) After taunting Bernardino with having introduced his new rite without authority, he says: “*Nam id postea plane apparuit cum te Martinus Romanus Pontifex prohibuit te ne ultra idem faceres*” (MS. cited, f. 80 r).

(b) “*Herculanus quidem Perusinus, tui ordinis consortiique frater, homo, ut ferunt, vix primis litteris tinctus, paucis ante diebus relatus est frequenti illius civitatis populo hoc futurum dixisse, ut eandem hanc tabulam libero preconio circumferatis. Audierat enim Martinum tibi interdixisse ne more solito tabulam illam apperires.*” (f. 86 v).

¹ Extract from *De viris illustribus* in “*Opera S. Bernardini*” I, XLIV.

² “*Storia di Firenze,*” 23, cited by Donati in “*Bull. Senese di Storia Patria,*” I, 58.

³ Printed in AA. SS., Oct. X, 319 (“*Life of S. John of Capistrano*”).

⁴ “*Epistolæ,*” IV, 3, cited by Donati, *ubi supra*.

(c) After alluding with anger to Fr. Albert of Sarteano having at Perugia declined a discussion with an Augustinian friar, he says : “*Movere certe debuerat tanti doctoris* (i.e. the Augustinian friar) *nomen ac professio; parantibus tuis communi totius vulgi frequentia tabulam circumferre, quod cum illi displicuissest, nec vellet proces- sioni interesse—sciebat enim hoc ab Summo Pontifice pro- hibitum, deque ea re ipse Romam litteras ante scripserat —paulum abfuit quin fieret in hominem vulgi impetus.*” (f. 87 r).

(d) “*Nunc ante omnia Summum Pontificem pro- hibuisse audio ne, quod apud te semper prædicationis magnificentissimum fuit, tabulam illam in aperto erigas.*” (f. 88 r).

(e) “*Quamquam mecum etiam Summus Pontifex in eo sentire visus est, quod te vexillum illud circumferre ac vulgare prohibuit.*” (f. 90 r).

I think therefore that the processional use of the tablet was probably forbidden by Pope Martin, though in the absence of any official record of the proceedings, it is impossible to be absolutely certain what his decision was. At any rate it seems clear that he did impose some restriction on Bernardino's use of the tablet ; and this view receives further confirmation from the Report of the Delegates appointed in 1617 to make a visitation and review of the relics preserved at Volterra, among which was the tablet presented to the city by Bernardino in 1424 (above, p. 134). In this report we read : “*Cum enim S. Bernardinus munus prædicationis Vulterræ exerceret anno 1424, in tabula lignea . . . venerabile Nomen depinxit, ad cuius devotionem in omnibus con- cionibus . . . populos incitebat. Quos eodem Jesu Nom- ine benedicens, mirum in modum proficiebat; et hic benedicendi modus a Martino Papa V approbatus et com- mendatus fuit.*”¹ The last clause would seem to imply

¹ Document in AA. SS., Maii IV, 770.

that some other "manner" of using the tablet than that of "blessing" had been forbidden; though the document refers to the tablet's having been exposed in church or carried in procession as a successful means of averting pestilence and other calamities. It is, however, possible that the prohibition, whatever its nature, had subsequently been relaxed by Pope Martin's successor, Eugenius; and in any case after Bernardino's canonization there would be nothing to prevent the tablet, now become a precious relic, from being exposed to the veneration of the faithful on solemn occasions like any other relic.

Fr. A. de' Bigli has been referred to as a type of the *bona fide* opponents of the new cult (above, p. 150); and in like manner S. Antonino (*ubi supra*) speaks of "wise men" fearing that it might lead to idolatry, or at least to superstition; while in the Council of Basel the Archbishop of Palermo told the assembly that he had seen at Siena (probably in 1425) 3000 wax tapers carried in procession after the tablet; which had led him to caution Bernardino; for that, unless such an extraordinary number of lights was simply due to the imminence of the festival of Corpus Christi, he, the Archbishop, was perplexed as to whether greater honour had not been paid to the tablet than to the true Body of Christ (John of Segovia, *ubi supra*).

To return to Bernardino himself; on 23 April, 1438, the Government of Siena wrote to urge him to come and preach, if not earlier, at any rate next Lent.¹ In July he was summoned, perhaps from Lombardy,² by the Minister-general to take up the office of Vicar over the Observants throughout Italy;³ and in the discharge of

¹ Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Concist. Copialettere," n. 1650, cf. above, p. 85.

² See above, p. 181.

³ See above, ch. i. p. 71. His doings in this capacity have been narrated in that chapter.

his official duties in the province of Penna in the Abruzzi he visited Aquila, where on 8 September, the feast of the Virgin's Nativity,¹ he is said to have preached before René of Anjou, King of Sicily; and during the sermon, which was on the text Apoc. XII. 1, a dazzling star appeared over his head, lighting up his face (Wadding, XI, 33). Before reaching Aquila he appears to have gone farther south, and is said to have visited Filettino, Piperno, Gaeta, Arpino, and La Scurcola by the lake of Fucino.²

On his way to the Abruzzi, he had preached on 27 August, at Perugia "*in piazza*" before a large company, inveighing against the sin of ingratitude toward God, and urging his hearers to abstain from unnatural vice.³ It may be that he visited Montefalco and Spello, as well as Assisi during this same journey (see M.F., I, 185).

In the latter part of the year, Bernardino, in company with other Franciscan divines, was present in attendance on the Council of Ferrara (Wadding, XI, 29, 30), which Pope Eugenius, after dissolving the Council of Basel, on 18 September, 1437, had summoned, in order to effect the reunion of the Latin and Greek Churches.⁴ The Council, which was preceded by preliminary discussions, held its first session on 14 October, and in the following January (1439) was transferred to Florence. The Papal decree transferring the Council is dated 10 January, 143⁸₉ (Labbé XIII, 1030); and by 21 January, Bernardino was at Florence, as we know from an autograph letter⁵ of that date written by him to

¹ According to "L'Umbria Serafica" (M.F., IV, 155), he spent the first half of August at Assisi (above, ch. I. p. 72, n. 1).

² Al., 359, from information supplied by De Cesaris.

³ "Diario di Antonio dei Veghi," in Fabretti, "Cronache della città di Perugia" (Turin, 1888), p. 21.

⁴ The Council of Basel on its side affected to depose Eugenius on 25 June, 1439.

⁵ Preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena (Cod. T. III, 3). It is reproduced in facsimile in the translation of Thureau-

the Sienese Government to apologize for the friars of La Capriola, who through excessive zeal had prematurely admitted to the Order a young Sienese. A good deal of ill-feeling had evidently arisen, since Bernardino refers to an arrangement that the Guardian of the convent should have an escort in bringing the lad back to Siena and in returning thence.¹

During the proceedings of the Council, it is said that Bernardino, in his eagerness for the reconciliation of the Greeks, prayed to God that his speech might be made intelligible to them, whereupon he mounted the pulpit, and addressed them with such fervour and eloquence in their own tongue that they declared he had spoken like a native. And thereafter he remained just as ignorant of Greek as he had been before (Wadding, XI, 59). Now this story must be received with some reserve, since it is plain from various passages in his sermons² that Bernardino possessed at least a smattering of Greek; nor is there anything derogatory to his sainthood in supposing that, in view of his intercourse with the Greek divines at the Council, he had furbished up his knowledge of Greek beforehand; even as S. Brigit of Sweden, notwithstanding her marvellous "visions and revelations of the Lord," had found herself obliged to learn the Latin declensions and conjugations just like any other sinner, when she was in Rome in 1350.³

Bernardino, however, did not remain in Florence Dangin's "Life of S. Bernardino" published by Lee Warner (London, 1911).

¹ Another case of unauthorized detention of a child by the same friars occurred in the very next year (Arch. di Stato in Siena: "De-lib. Concist.," *ad ann. 1440*, Maggio, 20, f. 20).

² See Appendix III, p. 357. A similar story is told of Angelo Clareno (Oliger, "Expositio Regulæ auct. A. Clareno," p. xxxv).

³ Comtesse de Flavigny, "Sainte Brigitte de Suède," 294, 295 (Paris, Oudin, 1910).

throughout the proceedings of the Council, but went back to La Capriola; for on 8 June, 1439, Albert of Sarteano wrote to him by the Pope's command desiring him to come to Florence at once. The chief difficulties which had hindered the union of the Greeks with the Latins had now been overcome, and Eugenius, in anticipation of the final settlement, wished that Bernardino should be present at the great solemnity, especially as measures were to be taken for proclaiming from the pulpits of Italy the joyful news of the consummation of the Union. Bernardino was to be free to return to Siena as soon afterwards as he liked.¹

In this same year, 1439, Bernardino was again in Milan, but all we know of his stay there is, that it was cut short by the peremptory order of the Duke that he should leave the city.²

In March, 1440, on the occasion of the death of S. Frances of Rome, foundress of the Oblates of Tor de' Specchi, both Bernardino and John of Capistrano, with other eminent preachers, visited Rome and preached in her honour in the church of S. Maria Nuova, now S. Francesca Romana.³

Bernardino's inauguration of a school of theology at Perugia in this year has already been referred to (above, ch. i. p. 74); but the date of his going there for this purpose is uncertain. We have seen (above, ch. i. pp. 72, 73), that he was at Assisi by the end of July, and his visit to Perugia may have preceded or followed his stay there. He had apparently been preaching at Florence in June, for the victory gained on 29 June, by the

¹ "Alberti a Sarthiano Opera" Ep. LX, p. 321 (Rome, 1688).

² Al., 365; M. Vegio in AA. SS., Maii IV, 760. The addition from an "Utrecht MS." (op. cit., 762) is a manifest interpolation, being repugnant to the text. It seems to refer to Bernardino's *first* visit to Milan. Cf. "Vita ex Surio" ("Opera," I, xxvi.).

³ AA. SS., Martii III, p. *205. She died on 9 March, 1440, and was canonized in 1608.

Florentines over Niccolò Piccinino in command of the forces of the Duke of Milan was ascribed by some to the fact that Bernardino had exhorted the citizens to implore God's help in the war. A few days after the battle, he returned to La Capriola.¹ An indication of his studies at this time is furnished by a letter dated 27 September, 1440, now in the Church at La Verna (Chapel of the Ascension) and printed in A.B., XXI, 78, n. 1 and below p. 360, in which he asks the Superior to persuade "the fathers of that convent" to lend him for a short time and send by the bearer (Fr. Nolfo of Viterbo) Olivi's commentary on S. Matthew. He was still at La Capriola on 13 February, 1441, when he executed an instrument (printed in Wadding, XI, 170), authorizing Fr. Battista da Bologna, Vicar over the Observants in the province of Milan, to receive a convent to be built for their use at Treviglio on land provided by the civic authorities (Al., 173).

We learn from the Chronicle attributed to Graziani,² that on 10 August, 1441, Bernardino arrived at Perugia from Assisi and preached in the open air from a marble pulpit (still existing) that had been erected beside the door of S. Lorenzo (the Cathedral) in 1439 (op. cit., p. 442). His first sermon was on Justice; and he preached daily until the 16th, after which he departed for Cortona, where he was detained for some time by illness (Wadding, XI, 119). While he was there, it chanced that Fr. Albert of Sarteano, who had been sent into the East two years before in order to effect the union of the Jacobite heretics with the Church, passed through the town with the Jacobite representatives whom he was conducting to Florence, there to make their submission to Pope Eugenius.³ All Cortona came

¹ Barnabas of Siena in AA. SS., Maii IV, 745.

² "Archivio Storico Italiano," XVI, I. 470.

³ The author of "The Chronicle of Graziani," who saw the envoys

out to greet him a mile from the city, and among the rest Bernardino, riding on an ass because of his infirmity. When Bernardino saw his disciple, Fr. Albert, mounted on a richly-caparisoned steed in the pomp of his dignity of Apostolic Nuncio side by side with the Abbot of S. Antony in Egypt, the chief of the Jacobite representatives, and the people crowding round to touch, if it might be but the hem of his robe, he cried aloud : "Brother Albert, look to thy feet ! Remember death ! beware lest honours exalt thy spirit beyond what is right !" Struck by the incongruity of the position, Fr. Albert hastily dismounted, and urged his aged Master and Superior to change places with him. But Bernardino refused ; he recognized that in the circumstances it was not meet that the Nuncio should waive his dignity ; only let him take heed lest the vainglory of the world should rob him of the reward of his toil. "In all the honours that have been offered me," was Fr. Albert's reply, "this has been my constant prayer : 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy Name give the glory !'" (Wadding, XI, 119). A chapel, now destroyed, containing portraits of the two friars, was erected as a memorial of the edifying scene. In 1442 Bernardino preached at Brescia. The long struggle between the Duke of Milan and the Republic of Venice had been brought to an end the year before ; and the city, which had been besieged by the Duke's forces from 1438 to 1440, remained in Venetian hands. But though delivered from the horrors of war, Brescia was torn by the senseless strife of Guelphs and Ghibellines. Here, Bernardino's denunciation of the wickedness of such discord had such good success that on 31 August (after he had gone back to Tuscany), the authorities, in express token of their gratitude for the reconciliation effected by him, as they passed through Perugia on 22 August, remarks that they were "black and ugly people" ("Arch. Stor. Ital.", XVI, 1. 470).

granted a house, in accordance with his request, to be converted into an Observant convent and church.¹ It is said that the races of horses, asses, soldiers, and loose women, which (with singular impropriety) took place annually on the feast of the Assumption (15 August) were replaced, in consequence of his preaching, by religious observances ; but this seems doubtful, and, in any case, the old custom was soon revived (Zanelli, art. cited, 89). It is probable that Bernardino had preached at Brescia during Lent ; at any rate his presence at Gardone in the Val Trompia (about twelve miles north of that city) on 20 April in this year seems to be vouched for by a deed,² whereby on that date two members of the Avogadro family granted, and Bernardino accepted land for the building thereon of a church and convent "*in la contrada di Valcavrera,*" at Gardone.

From Brescia, Bernardino returned to Tuscany. After resigning his office of Vicar-general over the Italian Observants into the Pope's hands at Florence, which he must have done before 18 July, since the resignation is referred to in Eugenius IV's letter of that date to Fr. Albert of Sarteano appointing him Vicar-general of the whole Order (above, ch. i. p. 77), Bernardino retired once more to La Capriola ; and on 24 August, Fr. Albert appointed him his Commissary there. The explanation of this is, that it seemed unfitting—to all but to Bernardino himself—that a man of his age and standing should be living as a simple friar

¹ A. Zanelli in "Archivio Storico Lombardo," *ann.* xxviii. (1901), pp. 83 ff. ; and document cited on p. 87, n. 1. He makes the strange statement that Brescia had come into the hands of the Duke of Milan in 1441.

² Printed in Amadio (ed. 1744), p. 343 (cf. ed. 1854, pp. 290-2). Zanelli (art. cited, p. 95, n. 3) does not admit that the fact of Bernardino's being a party to the deed is sufficient to prove his presence in Brescian territory at the time of its execution (l.c.).

in subjection to the Guardian of the Convent.¹ Here he suffered a terrible bereavement through the death of his companion, Fr. Vincent of Siena, which occurred probably in the latter half of this year 1442, or early in the next, during the time that Bernardino was writing his Sermons on the Beatitudes. Alessio (p. 389) places Fr. Vincent's death in 1444. This is impossible, for the sermons on the Beatitudes were finished by April, 1443,² and in the sermon on the third Beatitude, "Blessed are they that mourn," the writer interrupts himself to insert a lamentation over Fr. Vincent.³ He begins by telling us how hard he found it to refrain from an excessive display of outward grief (such as he had been rebuking earlier in the sermon), and to bow to God's will. But he cannot restrain his pen, and will let his grief have free course, so that his "dearly loved brethren" may sympathize in the loss of one who for about twenty-four years had accompanied him in the closest intimacy in his journeyings. "I was sick, and, many times, grievously sick in body (says Bernardino), and he always supported (*portabat*) and guided me. I was faint-hearted, and he cheered me up. I was slothful and negligent in God's way, and he aroused me. I was heedless and forgetful, and he admonished me. My Vincent, how art thou torn away from me! . . . Now, there is no one to stretch out a hand to me. At every turn I look to Fr. Vincent, as I used to do, and he is not there." Gifted with singular tact and discretion, he

¹ Haroldus in his life of Fr. Albert prefixed to his edition of Fr. Albert's works (Rome, 1688) p. 50. The letter of appointment is on p. 368.

² See Wadding, XI, 165, and below, Appendix II, p. 355.

³ "Opera," III, 34. The passage is also given in Wadding, XI, 165. It is copied almost word for word (with some abridgment) from S. Bernard's lament over his brother Gerard in his twenty-sixth sermon on the Canticles: but the phrase "Thou art my master," etc., quoted below is not S. Bernard's, and recalls Dante (*Inf.*, I, 85).

was able to spare Bernardino the needless visits of many who would break in upon his scanty leisure, and at the same time to send them away contented (cf. above, p. 129, n. 2). But we are surprised to learn that it was to this humble friend that Bernardino attributed much of the success of his own preaching. "He was not a man of learning, but he had a literary instinct (*litterarum inventorem sensum*), an illuminating mind, a sound judgment. I confess that, within the Order, I have had no preceptor in the lore of God's word but thee. Thou art my master, thou my teacher, thou my leader and ruler.¹ How many faults I should have committed in my preachings had not thy sensible mind, thy enlightened spirit, and thy supreme discretion been earnest and watchful in teaching me! . . . My soul clave to his soul, and affection had made one soul out of two."

Fr. Vincent himself, as he lay dying, said to the friars around: "I fear not death, but I grieve that the virtues of Bernardino and the divine favours which he had abundantly received are buried with me. Had I survived this holy man by but a little space, I should have been released from the oath by which he has bound me, and I should have revealed things which would have filled the world with admiration and amazement" (Wadding, XI, 169). Bernardino for his part declared that he had not been worthy of such a companion,² whom he doubtless appreciated the more highly because of the contrast between him and the friar who had been his principal companion in the earlier days of his preaching. This friar, less gifted with discretion than Fr. Vincent,

¹ The anonymous biographer (A.B., XXV, 313) tells us that Bernardino when journeying, yielded obedience to his principal companion just as if the latter had been the Superior of a convent of which Bernardino had been an inmate, "and that not feignedly or for appearance' sake, but from his heart, and in truth, as I have often observed".

² M. Vegio in AA. SS., Maii, IV, 758.

used to accost Bernardino just as he was leaving the pulpit and point out to him that something he had said or done should have been said or done differently. "And though (we read) this worried him when he was fatigued with preaching, yet he put up with this companion most patiently for twelve years" (A.B., XXV, 315). The same biographer tells us that Bernardino "that angelic man, was so sweet and gentle" that during his preaching journeys one companion (Vincent, doubtless) had accompanied him during twenty-four years, another during eighteen years, and a third during fourteen; and that in each case death was the only cause of separation.

In the latter part of 1442 Bernardino went to Milan to preach by the Duke's invitation. He seems to have started from Siena about the end of September, for on the 27th of that month the Sienese Government wrote for him a letter of commendation to the Duke, in the course of which, after observing that he had been summoned "*ad illas partes Mediolanenses*," they state that they are making him the medium of an important diplomatic communication from themselves.¹ He travelled by way of Florence, for on the same date (*ib.*) he was furnished with a second letter of commendation to the Pope, who was then there. He was in Milan by December, for on the 2nd of that month the Sienese Government wrote to him there (*ib.*), asking him to find out whether a certain professor named Cato who was in treaty for an engagement at the University of Siena intended to come to terms or not. Bernardino remained at Milan through January and at least some part of February, 1443, for on 29 January, 1443², his Government again wrote to him² to say that they had appointed as their Podestà the Duke's nominee, M. Giorgio Spinola, and that they were

¹ Archivio di Stato in Siena, "Concist. Copialettere," n. 1659.

² *Ibid.*, no. 1660.

sending an official to the Duke with their letters of notification. They ask Bernardino to assure the Duke of their readiness to obey his will; and in conclusion they show their confidence in Bernardino's diplomatic ability by requesting him to inform them of anything going on in Milan that it concerns them to know.

The most important occurrence during Bernardino's stay at Milan was his unmasking of one Amedeo de Landis, a teacher of mathematics who was spreading among the people serious errors in faith and morals. After having privately admonished him in vain, Bernardino denounced him from the pulpit. The matter was thereupon taken before Francesco della Croce, Vicar-general of the Archbishop, and the Inquisitor, Fr. Giovanni Pozzo Bonello, who ordered Amedeo to abjure his errors. Accordingly he formally recanted them and swore not to teach them again. Meanwhile, however, he contrived by false pretences to get the ear of the Pope. In doing so, he displayed considerable astuteness, for, rightly surmising that Eugenius would dismiss with contempt any accusation brought against the person of Bernardino, Amedeo suppressed Bernardino's name, and vaguely represented himself as having been damned by the slanders of "certain members of Mendicant Orders sojourning in the city and diocese of Milan".¹ The Pope, misled by Amedeo's deceit, instructed one of the canons of Milan, Giuseppe de' Brippi, to review the proceedings. Brippi did so, acquitted Amedeo, and gave sentence that Bernardino must, whenever required so to do, publicly proclaim Amedeo's innocence, on pain of excommunication. By this time Bernardino had left Milan, and Amedeo for the present made no use of the formidable weapon which his wickedness had placed in his hands; but, as we shall see (below, p. 214), he

¹ The whole story is recited in the Bull of Exculpation issued by Pope Nicholas V in 1447 and printed in Wadding, XI, 275.

brought the matter forward again after Bernardino's death, and gave a good deal of trouble in connexion with the process for Bernardino's canonization. The Duke of Milan wished Bernardino to remain in that city and preach during Lent (1443); and he applied for this purpose to Albert of Sarteano as Vicar-general of the Order. But on 31 January, Fr. Albert wrote back to the Duke¹ explaining that he could not allow Bernardino to remain in Milan because he (Albert) had already arranged that Bernardino should preach in Lent at Padua; and Albert also required Bernardino's help at the ensuing Chapter-general. It appears from this letter that Bernardino had sent "recently" to Albert to inquire what arrangements Albert proposed to make for his (Bernardino's) preaching. The Marquis of Ferrara, also wished Bernardino to preach in Lent there; and accordingly on the same date Fr. Albert wrote to Borso d'Este enclosing a copy of his (Albert's) letter to the Duke of Milan, excusing himself from writing further because he was suffering from his eyes.² The letter to the Duke of Milan is in the bombastic style of the Humanists which Fr. Albert still affected.

Bernardino accordingly went to Padua for Lent, and stayed on for the important Chapter-general already described (above, ch. i. p. 78). A curious anecdote is told concerning this, his last visit to Venetian territory.³ One day he was dining with Cristoforo Moro, at that time Captain of Padua on behalf of the Venetian Government, with whom Bernardino had formed a friendship in earlier days at Venice. Bernardino now told his host that after the death of Francesco Foscari the

¹ A. a Sarthiano, "Opera," Rome, 1688: Epist. LXXXV, p. 373.

² Op. cit., Ep. LXXXVI, p. 374.

³ On an alleged visit of Bernardino to Venice in 1443 see below, Appendix II, p. 355.

reigning Doge, he (Moro) would attain that dignity. In 1457 Foscari was deposed, and Moro, fortified by the Saint's prediction, expected to be chosen in his stead. But on Pasquale Malipiero's being elected, Moro "in some sort lost his faith in the said Saint". However, remembering that the prediction did not apply till after Foscari's death, and that Malipiero had been elected while Foscari was still alive, his apprehensions were allayed; and when finally he succeeded Malipiero (1462) his faith in S. Bernardino and his devotion to him increased yet more.¹ It was at Moro's instigation that, in 1470, S. Bernardino's festival began to be observed in Venice.

How long Bernardino remained at Padua is not known, but he arrived at Verona on 5 September, to preach, together with Fr. Albert of Sarteano (AA. SS., Maii IV, 724). In the same month he spent sixteen days at Vicenza (*ib.*) and probably on his way back to La Capriola he paid that visit to Ferrara with reference to which Wadding states (XI, 180), on the authority of a manuscript in the Vatican library, that Bernardino in this year at Ferrara predicted that in 1510 and 1511 wars and calamities would happen in Italy, which did in fact happen. Bearing in mind how strongly Bernardino deprecated the presumption of prying into the future (see below, p. 234), this statement must be received with grave suspicion. Compare the biographer's statement (A.B., XXV, 315) that whenever Bernardino was told that some one had seen a vision or uttered a prediction, his remark was: "I am not a man of such merit as that: but I constantly apply myself to the recitation of the divine Hours, and the study of theology and of

¹ The story is quoted from the chronicler Cigogna by F. Donati ("Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria," I, 51) and by Al. (386, n. 2). Malipiero was elected on 30 October, 1457, and Foscari died two days later.

what is needful for my office of preaching ; and in that sort of purity I strive to remain ". It may here be mentioned that owing to increasing infirmity Bernardino had now for some time ceased to go barefoot and was now obliged to ride on an ass.

On 26 May, in this year, Pope Eugenius issued the Bull *Pia mater Ecclesia*, granting indulgences to all who should take part in the projected crusade against the Turks, and ordered Bernardino to proclaim these indulgences and to distribute them in any place he might think fit.¹ It is not known what steps, if any, Bernardino took to carry out the injunction ; but in connexion with this matter reference may be made to a passage in Pellini's "Dell' Historia di Perugia," concerning our Saint's passing through Perugia in the following year (below, p. 201). It would seem from what Pellini says that the Pope had entrusted Bernardino with the mission of persuading the Princes of Italy to engage in a general pacification, presumably as a preliminary to the contemplated crusade ; and that Bernardino—who knew himself to be a dying man even when he started from Siena (see below, p. 200), though very likely the Pope did not—had excused himself from undertaking the task.²

Bernardino spent the remainder of the year at La Capriola ; and in the next year (1444) he determined to revisit Massa, his birthplace, where he preached his last Lenten course, though with great difficulty, owing

¹ Text of the Bull in "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria," II, 130.

² Pellini's words (Parte II, lib. XII. p. 530) are *Ma egli, che era in quel viaggio per trattar la quiete fra i Principi d' Italia, ricusando, andò all' Aquila, et ivi infermato, si morì*. (On Pellini's work, see Heywood, "Perugia," p. 3, n. 1.) Similarly the author of Graziani's chronicle, in speaking of the same visit of Bernardino to Perugia says : "Se disse che lui [i.e. Bernardino] aveva el maneggio de lo accordo," though he does not specify what the "accordo" related to ("Arch. Stor. Italiano," XVI, l. 548).

to his increasing ill-health. One day as he was returning from preaching, a poor Spaniard afflicted with leprosy, with feet swollen and horribly deformed, met the preacher and begged for some shoes. Bernardino gave him the sandals he was wearing ; and the leper took them and went on his way out of the town. As he went, he was cleansed ; and then returned to thank his benefactor. Bernardino bade him give God all the glory and never to reveal the thing so long as he (Bernardino) should be alive (Wadding, XI, 189). Returning to La Capriola after Easter (which fell on 12 April), he determined that he would die, even as he had lived, in preaching the Gospel, nor shrink from the weariness of travel, if only he might spend his last breath in winning souls to God. He resolved to turn his steps southward, to the kingdom of Naples : but before he left his native city he preached "between the Cathedral and the Hospital of La Scala" (Al., 392), where forty years before he had tended the sick with such devotion, one last sermon to his fellow-countrymen on "Justice and Good Government"; at the end of which he bade them a last farewell. It was indeed only too plain that if he left the city he would never return alive, and the Sienese urged him with all their power not to leave them. They could not bear the thought of losing him, and even more, perhaps, were they moved by apprehensions as to what would be the final resting-place of his remains. But the most painful parting was at La Capriola. The friars of that convent, which he himself had built and which had been as a home to him amid his wanderings, clung round him and fell on his neck with bitter weeping. But he tried to comfort them and urged them not to withstand God's will. "Pray rather," said he, "to the Lord of the harvest that He, who hath sent me, an unworthy labourer, into His harvest may graciously for His Name's sake guide my

steps in the right way wherein I may walk, and give to my voice the voice of power, so that I may worthily proclaim His wonders to the people."

At midnight on 29 April, Bernardino left Siena secretly, so as to avoid any further attempts on the part of his fellow-citizens to detain him. He was accompanied by four trusted companions, Bartolomeo Mariani, Pietro Catturino, Domenico Guidocci, all Sienese and priests, and Felix, a lay-brother of Milan.¹ The first halt was made at the Convent of the Conventuals at Asciano some ten miles south-east of Siena. The next day at dawn the little company, which now included Pietro da Travanda the Guardian of the convent of Asciano, set out for the island (*Isola Maggiore*) in lake Trasimeno, where S. Francis is said to have fasted for forty days.² Here Bernardino spent three days (1-4 May) in the congenial society of Fr. Jacopo dalla Marca, and here he admitted P. da Travanda into the fellowship of the Observants. On Sunday, 3 May, Bernardino preached to the inhabitants of the island. On the Monday (4 May) he reached Perugia, where outside the Church of S. Francesco-del-Monte the citizens had prepared "a noble marble pulpit" which they would allow none of the friars to use till Bernardino should have inaugurated it.³ He mounted the pulpit, his face beaming with smiles as he marked the affection which his favourite Perugians bore him: but probably feeling unequal to addressing a large outdoor audience, he came down again, remarking that "the first day had taken away

¹ For the account of Bernardino's last journey we are indebted to the above-named Bartolomeo Mariani whose narrative is incorporated in Wadding, XI, 190 ff.

² See "The Little Flowers of S. Francis," translated by W. Heywood, p. 13, and note on p. 177 (Methuen).

³ Wadding, XI, 190. This is a mistake. The only pulpit at Perugia connected with S. Bernardino is the one already referred to (above, p. 190).

the gift it had given," i.e. himself; for he straightway went on to Assisi, where he stayed at the Convent of S. Maria degli Angeli and visited the grave of his Master (Maffeo Vegio in AA. SS., Maii IV, 761); and thence to Foligno, where by an innocent stratagem of Pietro Catturino he left his cord behind him so that that city might possess a relic of him. The next stage of the journey brought him to Spoleto, where he preached on Sunday, 10 May, and healed many sick by signing them with the Cross. On the Monday he journeyed on to Piediluco¹ preaching there on Tuesday 12th "with much advantage". Thence he went on to Rieti; and as he arrived in the evening, the chief magistrates of the city came out to greet him with a torch-light procession, and escorted him to the Convent of S. Francis, where the company sat down to an elaborate banquet. Bernardino made his meal off bread and water, just tasting the dainties (after the manner of S. Francis), so as not to seem discourteous, and entertaining the guests with his racy talk. Next day the authorities begged him to stay on for a few days and preach to the people. To this he agreed, and at the end of his sermon made a playful and affectionate allusion to his former stay among them in 1426 (above, p. 144). "Though in my long preaching of the Gospel among you nearly twenty years ago I begat sons, now my grandsons have grown up, but I will still embrace you in one name and one love as my sons." The sermon ended, Giovanni Antonio Patrazio and his wife came to Bernardino in the cloisters, bringing their little girl Anna who was suffering from dangerous wounds which had defied the doctors' skill. They prayed Bernardino to have pity on her. He calmly raised his eyes to Heaven, signed her with the Cross,

¹This journey was particularly distressing on account of the severity of Bernardino's ailment (dysentery) and the crowds who pressed upon him from all quarters.

and bade the parents be of good cheer and trust that God would deliver their child from her sufferings. The next day she was cured, nothing but the scars remaining where the wounds had been. Before leaving Rieti, Bernardino sent for Fr. Bartolomeo, to whom, as above stated, we are indebted for the account of the Saint's last journey, and in a solemn interview laid bare to him much of his inward spiritual life and predicted to him the chastisements that were coming upon the earth. "I myself," says Wadding (XI, 191), "have seen in an ancient MS. certain predictions of the holy man which have been fulfilled to the letter; and the above-named witness (Fr. Bartolomeo) testifies that very many of the events which Bernardino foretold to him were proved true by the facts." (Cf. above, p. 198.)

Two days after leaving Rieti, Bernardino reached Città Ducale (14 May), where he was received with great honour; and next day, at the urgent entreaties of the people, he preached in the piazza, his subject being the keeping of God's commandments; and at the end he begged them all to pray for him to God that He would grant him a happy death and the forgiveness of all his sins. He ceased amid a scene of indescribable emotion. Never had his words been more fervent, never had he so completely won the hearts of his hearers. It was his last sermon. The dysentery increased in severity and was accompanied by fever. His weakness became alarming. He summoned his companions and told them that he should preach no more, and that he should die in Aquila. Next day he rallied, and was able to reach the next resting-place Interdoco (Antrodoco) near Aquila: moreover he insisted on observing the Friday's fast prescribed by the Rule, though his companions had prepared some suitable food for him. On the Saturday (15 May) his ass was made ready for the final stage, and his companions inquired whether,

when he got close to Aquila, he would like or be able to enter the city on foot? "Oh," he replied, "I will ride in, for when I am walking I only get one degree of honour; but I get ten when I am riding—and the extra honour I get by riding is all paid to my poor little ass; so you may clearly see what my beast's dignity is, since, for his sake, much more reverence is paid to me!" But in spite of his fortitude, it was a terrible day's journey. He often had to dismount and rest on the ground, to get some relief from his suffering. He was parched with thirst, and no water could be found in that arid and desolate mountainous region. He asked Fr. Bartolomeo to go forward and ask the first person he met where there might be any water. Presently a countryman appeared who pointed out a cool spring. While he was resting by the stream, S. Pietro Celestino, the patron saint of Aquila¹ appeared to him, embraced him, and announced to him that God had committed the care of the city to him as co-patron with himself, and that he (Celestine) greatly rejoiced in being associated with such a colleague. But Bernardino's sufferings were too great to allow him to reach Aquila that day; and he passed the night at the village of S. Silvestro, a short distance from the city. Next day (Sunday, 16 May) he at last arrived at Aquila, having been carried thither in a litter (M. Vegio, AA. SS., *ut supra*, 761) and at the request of his companions consented to lodge at the Convent of the Conventuals, where the accommodation was more convenient than at the Observant house, which moreover was at some distance from the city. He occupied the cell of John of Capistrano,² who had arranged that a

¹i.e. Pope Celestine V (see above, p. 31). He was canonized by Clement V in 1313 (5 May) (D'Ovidio, "Studi sulla Divina Comedia," 421). His body was brought to Aquila in 1327, where there is a chapel dedicated to him containing his tomb.

²John himself tells us so in his life of S. Bernardino, "Opera, S.B.," I, XLIII.

portion of the spacious building should be set apart for the special reception of Observants, in accordance with a kindly custom ; for in spite of the mutual antagonism between the Conventuals and the Observants there was a certain degree of good-fellowship among them, and accommodation was frequently provided in the Conventual houses for Observants when obliged to enter the towns (where the Conventuals were chiefly established) either for the transaction of necessary business, or for medical attendance in sickness.¹

The Priors and chief notabilities of Aquila came to visit the sick man immediately on his arrival ; and the best medical skill was applied, but in vain. The dysentery resisted all treatment, and it was manifest that Bernardino's days, nay hours, were numbered. "Brother Bernardino," said his companions to him, "thou belongest more to the next world than to this ; set thy house in order."² "I am content to do it, and to die," was the answer. And then he told them to strip him of the garment he had on (they had to cut it in order to get it off), because he wished to die vested in the habit of a Friar Minor. Accordingly on Wednesday, 20 May, he received the last sacraments (Wadding, XI, 192). After this Bernardino seems to have had a stroke of paralysis, for our informant, Fr. Julian, says that, though he remained conscious, he "lost

¹ Fr. Francis of Rimini (see above, ch. i. pp. 74-6) insinuates that it was owing to his unpopularity with his own friars that Bernardino went to a Conventual house to die.

² This and the following particulars concerning Bernardino's last hours and funeral are taken, except where other references are given, from the letter of an eye-witness, Friar Julian of Milan, written by him at Aquila, three days after Bernardino's death, to his friends at Milan. The letter is printed in Olmi (pp. 337 ff.), from a fifteenth century copy in the National Library at Florence (the original seems to be missing), and is also printed in "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria," I, 70 ff., from a modern copy in the Communal Library at Siena.

the power of speech," and was "dead on one side". He lay on a bed on the paved floor of the cell, and persisted in putting his feet and legs out so that they rested on the pavement. His companions twice replaced them, and twice he put them out again: "and so he chose to die with his feet on the ground". He was doing his best to imitate S. Francis in his death (see 2 Celano, 217). The moans which had previously escaped him now ceased, and he became totally unconscious. For an hour and a half Fr. Julian watched him as he lay there speechless and motionless save for his breathing. This perfect immobility deeply impressed the simple friar, and prompted him to self-reproach. "*Quando mi duole un pocho il ventre, e non posso estare fermo, e tutta via mi lamento!*" he cries. "Three times I kissed him as he was dying," says Fr. Julian near the end of the letter, "and since then I have always kept my station by the body." Then, while the friars at Vespers in the adjoining church were chanting the Ascension-tide antiphon, "*Pater manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus*"—words so perfectly summing up Bernardino's life and work, his spirit passed away to God.¹ "If other men die like that, death is sweeter than sleep," is Fr. Julian's comment. As soon as the Saint was dead, his companions urged Fr. Julian and three others, who had been watching with him, to keep the thing secret. His companions then began to discuss the great question of the disposal of his body, and they finally determined to abide by the decision of the civic authorities of Aquila, whereupon Fr. Julian and another were sent to them with a formal announcement of the death, and a request that all possible honour should be paid to the holy man's remains.² The authorities, disregarding, with pardonable

¹ Wadding, XI, 192.

² According to another account, the Saint's companions attempted to remove the body by stealth to Siena, and when their design was

selfishness, the wish of Bernardino's companions that the corpse should be taken back to Siena, at once decided that it should rest at Aquila. Next morning (Ascension Day, 21 May), the bishop of Aquila, accompanied by some priests, brought the body from the cell where it lay to the nave of the convent church (S. Francesco) : where, after Vespers of the day, the funeral office was performed twice over, first, in the presence of all the Religious in Aquila, secondly, in the presence of the Bishop and the secular clergy.¹ On the next day (Friday, 22 May), the Bishop, the Religious, and no less than 170 secular priests assembled in the church, where a wooden canopy on which stood five candles (one at each corner and one on the top) had been placed over the body ; and thence the whole company went in procession through the town ; forty-four silver and three wooden crosses were borne aloft (Wadding, XI, 193) ; the coffin was carried by Religious, each friar and each priest walking in the procession bore a candle in either hand ; a band of children accompanied the procession crying : “*Misericordia, Misericordia*” ; while inhabitants of the city followed with lighted candles and torches ; and the bell of the Commune was tolled ; which had never been done before at a funeral. The crowd in S. Francesco had been so great and unmanageable that by order of the civil authorities the body was brought to the larger church of S. Massimo after the procession. In the evening it was brought to S. Francesco again (Wadding, XI, 193). When the procession had returned to the church [of S. Massimo], a Doctor of Divinity preached in the Piazza adjoining on the text *Quis est iste formosus in schola sua?*

accidentally found out, the authorities took the body away from them by force and gave it into the custody of “faithful citizens” (Wadding, XI, 192).

¹ Wadding, XI, 193.

He set forth how the four Cardinal and the three Theological virtues had been illustrated by the Saint's life; he reminded his hearers that no one until Bernardino had arisen like unto S. Francis, and he expatiated in particular on the enlargement of the Observance through Bernardino's ministry. He preached for the best part of two hours, and yet, says our informant, "he did not say a quarter of what I should have liked him to say". The fact that the preacher belonged to that rival mendicant Order—the Augustinian Hermits—whose members had done so much to embitter Bernardino's life is extremely noteworthy, and shows how the power of his holiness had at length turned his revilers into eulogists.¹

Fr. Julian then gives a vivid description of the scenes in the church during the lying-in-state. As soon as the body had been brought into the nave (as above stated) the people began to kiss it. Among the rest was a boy about twelve years old, whose father told Fr. Julian that his son had been unable, for more than eight months, to walk without a crutch. Fr. Julian saw this boy walking freely and leaping immediately after touching the corpse. "Afterwards another, who had been unable to move since the Carnival, was brought into the church, and a very little while after touching the body walked alone to one of the altars, and then walked from that one to another; and another time walked to the body, without assistance. And these were the first two, and it happened in the presence of myself and of others who were there." A great many

¹ At a great memorial service held at Perugia on 14 June, the preacher was likewise an Augustinian. He too sang Bernardino's praises, hailing him as a Saint "by reason of the miracles he is daily working—except for the Perugians who believe little" (Antonio dei Veghi in Fabretti, "Cronache della Città di Perugia" (Turin, 1888), p. 28).



THE BURIAL OF S. BERNARDINO, BY PINTORICCHIO
(*S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome*)

similar cases of cure occurred on the following days; among them, that of an Augustinian friar who came up to the body with great difficulty on two crutches; and walked away with only one.

On Ascension Day the crowds were so great that the body had to be removed from the nave of the church to the high altar, and measures were taken to admit only a few at a time, who came in by one door and went out by another. "Nor were they content to kiss his hands and feet, for some fortunate ones were able to put rings on his fingers and toes. O what a quantity of hoods, handkerchiefs, cloths, cords, iron bars, belts and other things did they lay upon him so as to possess something that had touched the body! In the morning it yielded a sweet perfume, and every time (*sic*) the perfume increased. When the body was put into the coffin and nailed down¹ some lay down beneath the coffin, some above it, and others carried off bits of the wood. A part of the cloth² was cut away by stealth; and they treated the coffin just as they had treated the body when it had been uncovered, except that they could not put rings on the fingers and toes. This de-

¹ This was probably done on Saturday, 23 May, the day when Fr. Julian wrote his letter. In the meantime the body was constantly guarded in the chapel on the right hand of the door of S. Francesco as you enter, while the iron coffin wherein it was finally laid was preparing (Wadding, XI, 193, 194). It is said that while the body was still unburied, an insurrection broke out in Aquila, in the course of which the populace were on the point of beheading a number of innocent persons; when a voice was heard in the air bidding the people cease from bloodshed and hasten to S. Francis's church where they would find blood enough. They went, and found the corpse swimming in blood which was flowing in streams from the nostrils. The people then fell on their knees imploring pardon for their attempted crime (Wadding, XI, 194). The silence of Fr. Julian, who records so many miracles, concerning this one, seems comment enough.

² i.e. The habit wherein the Saint was buried.

votion has been going on these three days, until an hour after nightfall (*a una hora di notte*) : I don't know how much longer it will last ! O how glad of it I was, and am. And (continues Fr. Julian) that you may not believe that I am writing all this only for your consolation and my own, I beg you, as soon as you receive this letter, to go to the father Guardian at S. Angelo [see above, ch. i. p. 62, n. 2] and first of all commend me to him and all the friars and then tell him everything. And then go to all the other monasteries to make it known, that they may thank God for it. And there ought to be rejoicings over it throughout the world to the honour of God, and the glory of this Saint and of all their (*sic*) Religious. Tell it all over Milan, or I'll get you excommunicated by Fr. Lodovico and his companions (*dalli compagni*). And it would also be a good thing to hunt out that swine of a Bufaccio and give him a piece of your mind (*lavargli il capo senza sapone*), and do the same to all who have spoken evil of him (Bernardino). . . . I said to the people here, the night Fr. Bernardino died : 'Wait and see, he will work miracles ; and if you don't pay him all the honour you can, Missere Domine-dio will soon send his body miraculously elsewhere ! '

Fr. Julian's wish that there might be rejoicings everywhere was abundantly fulfilled. All regret for the loss of Fr. Bernardino from earth was swallowed up in the certainty that a new wonder-worker was exercising his power from heaven. Memorial services were indeed held in the chief cities wherein he had preached, Perugia setting the example (above, p. 208, n. 1) ; but, as Wadding says (XI, 194) they assumed much more of a festal than a funereal character, as well they might : for the few miracles wrought, as above stated, in the first days after the Saint's decease were soon eclipsed both in number and quality by those that followed in rapid succession : the deaf heard, the lame walked, the blind saw, lepers

were cleansed, devils were cast out, and to crown all, no less than thirteen dead were restored to life.¹

The body remained in the Church of S. Francesco till 1472, when by order of Pope Sixtus IV it was solemnly translated to the newly-erected church dedicated to S. Bernardino. In 1481, Lewis XI of France presented a magnificent silver gilt sarcophagus to the friars of the convent of S. Bernardino in gratitude for the Saint's having delivered his son from death. The body was now enclosed in a glass chest which was placed in the sarcophagus ("Opera," I, l.). The MS. "Vita S. Bernardini," in the Communal Library at Siena (see below, Appendix, p. 352) contains (f. 22) a copy of the letter (dated 4 (?) May, 1481) which Lewis sent by his secretary, Peter Chasson, to the authorities of Aquila together with the sarcophagus to contain the body and relics of the Saint. He earnestly entreats that it may never be put to any other use, or be laid hands on by anyone of whatsoever dignity for any public, private, or even religious purpose.

In 1505, Jacopo Nanni, a merchant of Aquila, constructed a richly decorated mausoleum or mortuary chapel in which the sarcophagus was placed. The chapel was further embellished in 1525. Four years later, Philibert of Châlons-Orange, Viceroy of Naples for the Emperor Charles V, plundered the city of Aquila and destroyed the sarcophagus which the piety of King Lewis XI had provided. His answer to a remonstrance which some one ventured to address to him, was to order the beheading of fifty of the citizens of Aquila. It is satisfactory to know that Philibert in the very next year, 1530, paid for this abominable sacrilege and butchery by a violent and ignominious death (AA. SS., Maii IV, 780). Another sarcophagus of silver was afterwards provided by the authorities of Aquila, within which was

¹ The list fills seven folio pages (Wadding, XI, 195 ff.).

placed the glass chest containing the body ; the silver sarcophagus was enclosed in a wooden chest, and this, in turn, in a marble receptacle.¹ But the vicissitudes of S. Bernardino's tomb were not yet at an end. On 2 February, 1703, the city of Aquila was almost destroyed by an earthquake, in which more than 3000 persons perished. The greater part of S. Bernardino's church fell in ruins, including the mausoleum. The outer marble receptacle, the chest of wood, and the silver sarcophagus within, were all broken ; but the glass case containing the body remained intact. The church and mortuary chapel were afterwards rebuilt : the silver sarcophagus, damaged, as we have seen, by the earthquake, was carried off in 1799 by the French ; and a wooden sarcophagus, carved by Giuseppe Montivi of Mantua, was substituted for it (Al., 439).

The ass which Bernardino had ridden on his last journey was brought back to Siena together with his books and clothing ; and the women of the place, anxious for some tangible memorial of the Saint, plucked off all the poor beast's hairs, and kept them as relics.² The Saint's effects were handed to the Guardian of La Capriola, Fr. Lodovico, who drew up a formal inventory of them which is now in the Archivio di Stato at Siena.³ His books and papers formed forty-one items, and included, besides a considerable number of his own sermons, his favourite Alexander of Hales's "Commentary on the Psalter" (cf. below, p. 232), and works by S. Thomas, S. Bonaventura, Ubertino of Casale,

¹ Full descriptions of the sarcophagi and the mortuary chapel will be found in "Opera," I, l.

² Aeneas Sylvius, "De viris illustribus," in "Opera S. Bernardini," I, XLIV.

³ The inventory was published by O. Bacci ("Inventari degli oggetti e libri lasciati da S. Bernardino da Siena" (Nozze Del Lungo-Sani), Castelfiorentino, 1895) and again in Al., pp. 405-8.

the "Commentary on the Apocalypse" by "Maestro Mattia di Svetia," in whom we recognize the director of S. Brigit of Sweden in her earlier years,¹ "*lo libro d' Ugho Panziera,*"² and Pope Eugenius's Bull of exculpation (above, p. 174).

On 28 July, 1444, at the Duke of Milan's request for some relics, the Government of Siena determined to send him a pair of spectacles and a cap that had belonged to Bernardino, and on 7 August they wrote asking the Duke to use his influence with the Pope to secure Bernardino's canonization.³ The Duke hoped that the spectacles might restore his failing sight. Unfortunately the remedy proved ineffectual.

I have already referred to the funeral services performed in Bernardino's honour in the principal cities of Italy. Siena was not in this matter to be outdone by any other place; and here the solemn memorial ceremonies were carried out by order of the Government with extraordinary pomp during four days (15-19 June); and during eight days (15-22 June) "a solemn funeral for the said Blessed Friar Bernardino" was ordered to be performed throughout the territory of the Republic.⁴ On 13 June, it was resolved that two envoys should be sent to Aquila to request that the body might be delivered up and brought to Siena; and that two envoys should also be sent to the Pope⁵ to urge

¹ See Comtesse de Flavigny, "Sainte Brigitte de Suède," 47, 92, 100, 130.

² I have been unable to find out anything about this item.

³ Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Delib. Concist." ann. 1444, ff. 22, 23, 33.

⁴ Al., 402-5, incorporating the matter contained in G. Sanesi, "Documenti relativi a S. Bernardino da Siena" published "per nozze Bacci-Del Lungo" (Pistoja, 1895).

⁵ Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Delib. Concist." ann. 1444, f. 56. Four days later three "Commissaries" were chosen to go to Aquila "per havere il corpo del B. fra Bernardino" (*ib.*, 17 June, f. 63).

him to grant the same boon, and also to solicit Bernardino's canonization. One of the envoys to the Pope was Leonardo Benvoglienti, the Saint's biographer. The instructions to these envoys are printed by Alessio (p. 403); and it appears from them, that such was the eagerness of the Sienese to possess the wonder-working corpse of their great fellow-citizen, that their envoys were directed to urge in support of their petition, that Bernardino had been born in Siena! These embassies were, however, unsuccessful, so far as concerns the recovery of the remains, which, as we have seen, still rest at Aquila.

No time was lost by Bernardino's supporters in attempting to procure his canonization. John of Capistrano exerted himself to the utmost in the enterprise; and Bernardino's claim to be enrolled among the Saints was likewise urged upon the Holy See by Alfonso V (the Magnanimous) King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, and by ambassadors from the cities of Aquila and Siena. The efforts of the Sienese Government were never relaxed during the next six years, and the frequent records relating to the business still existing in the Archivio di Stato at Siena show that neither trouble nor expense was spared in furthering the object in view.

On 15 April, 1445, Pope Eugenius appointed a Commission of three Cardinals to examine and report (Wadding, XI, 233): but the affair was not suffered to proceed unopposed. Amedeo de Landis, relying on the judgment he had fraudulently obtained (above, p. 196) procured "certain Mendicants and members of other Orders" to proclaim from the pulpit that Bernardino, by virtue of the aforesaid judgment, had incurred the guilt of mortal sin and had died in such guilt and excommunicate.¹ Pope Eugenius on hearing of this was greatly distressed; he made it known (7 November,

¹ AA. SS., Maii IV, 776.

1446) that if Bernardino had been named in Amedeo's application to him (above, p. 196) he would never have suffered the proceedings to be taken ; and ordered that Amedeo should be punished, and that Bernardino's slanderers should withdraw their false statements. This measure was ineffectual, for when, shortly afterwards, Eugenius died (23 February, 1447), Amedeo and his supporters were slandering Bernardino as much as ever (AA. SS., *ubi supra*), and had succeeded in bringing the process of canonization to a standstill. Eugenius's successor, Nicholas V, was elected on 6 March, and at once determined to clear Bernardino's reputation. On 14 April he issued the Bull already referred to (above, p. 196, n. 1) annulling all the proceedings that had been taken before Giuseppe de' Brippi, fully justifying Bernardino for having preached against Amedeo's false doctrine ; affirming that Bernardino had been "a most faithful preacher of the Catholic faith, and that his doctrine had been of advantage to the salvation of an infinite number of souls" ; and requiring on pain of excommunication that all those who had slandered Bernardino should publicly retract what they had presumed to utter against him. On 17 June, Pope Nicholas appointed a fresh commission of three Cardinals to proceed with the investigation preliminary to the canonization (Wadding, XI, 279). For three years more the proceedings dragged on ; at length, on 24 May, 1450, the ceremony of canonization was performed with every circumstance of pomp in S. Peter's. The city was crowded with the pilgrims who had gathered in Rome to enjoy the privileges of the Jubilee ; and no less than 5777 Friars Minor,¹ marched in procession from the convent of

¹ This number is given by Fr. Sante Boncor in his "Life of S. Bernardino," ch. xxiii. ("La Verna," ann. X, p. 22 ; see Appendix I, p. 352). He says that he got it from some one who had counted the friars.

Araceli to S. Peter's. Pope Nicholas V celebrated Mass, and in the course of the stately service declared Bernardino to be numbered among the Saints.¹ Three days later at Siena the Council of the People decreed that S. Bernardino should be one of the patron-saints of their city.² On 14 June the joyful event of the canonization was celebrated in Siena with the utmost enthusiasm. The streets were elaborately decorated, and the ceremonies culminated in a solemn Mass celebrated in the Campo where the Saint had preached so often, during the course of which was performed a representation of S. Bernardino ascending from earth to heaven and being received into the company of the blessed spirits on high.³

We may judge how completely the Sienese had taken Bernardino into their hearts by the fact that a Palio to be run for on his festival (20 May) was instituted in 1472. He was thus associated with the Saints whom they delighted to honour, Our Lady, B. Ambrogio Sansedoni, S. Mary Magdalen, and S. Pietro Alessandrino.⁴

One more honour it was still possible for S. Bernardino to attain, namely that he should be declared a Doctor of the Church. To this end a formal request was addressed to Pope Pius IX in 1876 (Al., 324) and the necessary proceedings were set on foot; but they became dormant, and, as I am credibly informed, are not likely to be revived. Perhaps it is better so, for S. Bernardino, in regard to fame as an original theologian,

¹ The Bull of Canonization is printed in Wadding, XII, 51, "Opera," I, xlvi, and Al., 480.

² Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Delib. Concist." ann. 1450, f. 28.

³ Al., 406-8; Allegretto Allegretti, "Diari Senesi" in Muratori, "R.I.S.," XXIII, col. 767.

⁴ Allegretti, *ubi supra*, col. 774; cf. Heywood, "Palio and Ponte," p. 89.

lived at an unfavourable time. The “old order” was indeed “changing,” but had not yet “yielded place to new”; the day of the great Schoolmen was over; that of the great Casuists had not yet begun. In the field where a S. Thomas Aquinas, a S. Bonaventura, an Alexander of Hales had reaped an abundant harvest, there was little left for Bernardino to glean. He possessed, as we shall see, a profound knowledge of scholastic divinity; but that science was incapable of further development; and all he could do was, in his own words “to cling to the sleeves of the Doctors, who knew a great deal more than I do” (“Pred. Volg.,” II, 286).

CHAPTER III

THE SERMONS OF S. BERNARDINO

S. BERNARDINO'S fame in his own day rested chiefly on his unrivalled powers as a preacher ; and it is therefore fortunate that we possess, in the very large number of his sermons that have come down to us, abundant material from which to form an idea of what his preaching was like. But before dealing with these sermons in general it will be interesting to quote some passages which give us his own view of preaching and preachers. The following extract from one of the Siena sermons¹ sets forth his sense of the importance of preaching : "Oh ! how many will there be to-morrow who will say 'I did not know what I was doing ; I thought I was doing right and I was doing wrong' ; and then he will recollect this sermon and say to himself, 'Oh ! now I am clear about what I ought to do ! ' . . . And when you are going to make some contract or other, you will first think it over, saying, 'What did Friar Bernardino say ? ' He said so-and-so : this is bad, it must not be done ; that is good, and I'll do it. And all because of the word you hear in the sermon ! But tell me : what would become of the world, I mean, the Christian Faith, if there were no preaching ? In a short time our Faith would die away. . . . And so the Church has ordered that there shall be preaching every Sunday ; there may be little, or much ; but some there must be. And she has ordered you to

¹ "Pred. Volg.," I, 65, 66.



HEAD OF S. BERNARDINO, BY LORENZO VECCHIETTA
(*Palazzo Palmieri-Nuti, Siena*)

go and hear Mass. And if of these two things you can only do one—either hear the Mass or hear the sermon—you should let the Mass go, rather than the sermon. . . . There is less peril for your soul in not hearing Mass, than in not hearing the sermon.¹ Tell me, How could you believe in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar but for the holy preaching you have heard? . . . Nay more, how would you know what sin was, but through preaching? . . . All the things you know come from the word heard by your ears; and hence you come from knowledge to faith. And all you have and know comes from God's word; and, as a general rule, what we hold concerning the faith of Jesus comes through preaching alone; nor will the faith ever fail, so long as it shall be preached." And elsewhere (10 "De Evangelio Aeterno," "Opera," II, 61) "The people without God's word, even though they attend Mass, are like the world without the sun". And, as regards the preacher, his qualifications are concisely set forth in the fifty-eighth sermon "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 396). After speaking of the excellence of S. Francis's preaching, S. Bernardino observes that there are three kinds of preachers. "Some," he says, "bear the sword of discourse in their hand and bear not in their mouth the seed which (as is said in Luke VIII.) is even the word of God; and these are they that have the life but not the learning, and of such Jerome says in the Prologue to the Bible, 'Holy rusticity profits itself alone; and in proportion to the edification it affords to Christ's Church by its meritorious life, is the damage it does when it cannot withstand the destroyers'. Secondly, there are some others that sow the seed of God's word with the mouth but not with the hand; for the seed is not well sown by the mouth only,

¹ Cf. 5 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 169), where a similar but less unqualified statement occurs. His own rule was to preface his sermon by a celebration of Mass (AA. SS., Maii IV, 729).

and these are they that have the learning, but not the life ; concerning whom the Lord saith (Matt. xxiii) ‘They say, and do not’. Thirdly, there are some (but few, alas !) who sow with the hand and bear the sword in the mouth, and of such it is said (Matt. v) ‘He who shall do and teach, the same shall be called great in the Kingdom of heaven.’ And elsewhere (1 “De Ev. Aet.” “Opera,” II, 11) he bids the preacher adapt himself to the different minds of hearers. He must convince the reason of the intellectual man, must attract the affection of the emotional, and smite the hardened sinner with the terror of God’s judgments. Above all, he must fearlessly, yet tactfully, proclaim God’s Truth. This, Bernardino has found by experience to be, after all, the surest way to win acceptance with the people ; for, “not all among them are so ignorant and blind as not to know the difference between a flatterer and a preacher of the Truth. But if any chafe under the Truth’s rebuke, such are to be pitied, indeed, for their folly and infirmity, but their indignant murmurings are not to be heeded” (Sermon 18, “De Tempore,” “Opera,” IV, 214, 215). And to a preacher who once asked for some hints for the improvement of his own sermons, Bernardino replied, “Since I began to preach I have never uttered a word except for the sake of God’s honour and praise : and to this rule which I have always carefully observed, I owe whatever of learning, eloquence, readiness, or influence I have gained” (Maffeo Vegio in Wadding, X, 12).

S. Bernardino keenly enjoyed the exercise of the great talent God had given him. “I have borne this toil of preaching for a good many years now,” he cries in 1427,¹ “and have found it the very best toil (*la più ottima e migliore fatiga*) I ever endured ; and have given everything else up for it.” And again, “what

¹ “Pred. Volg.,” II, 367.

gladness I feel at times in myself while preaching".¹ He gives an amusing description of the inconveniences of being a popular preacher in the sermon from which the last quotation but one is taken.² "Sometimes I find myself quite alone, and then I feel inclined to have such a fit of laughing that if anyone were with me he would think it a marvel. I find that if anyone is in any difficulty he comes to me and says: 'Oh, Fr. Bernardino, I pray you for the love of God to do me a favour: there is a quarrel between So-and-so and So-and-so, and you might do much good by getting them to make it up'—'All right,' say I, 'what do you want me to do?'—'I want you to send for So-and-so.'—'But I have no servants, and no officers to make him come here, and perhaps after all he would only do as he chooses. Get along with you! this is not my business! . . .' If a wife has been cast out by her husband, she comes to me: if she runs away from her husband, I have him on my hands. If anyone is sick, he has recourse to me; if anyone is in trouble he comes to me; and certainly I hear from you³ the queerest cock-and-bull stories I've heard anywhere! Then people come to me sometimes and want to tell me a long rigmarole, and they start from about a thousand miles off. Only the other day a stranger⁴ accosted me (I did not think much of him, though perhaps his own opinion of himself was otherwise!). And when he came up to me he said: 'Missere, God preserve you'—'Welcome! what's the news?'—'I want your advice about something.'—'Tell me about it,' said I. So he began, and said: 'The fact is, that we had a priest in our church and we did not like him. We drove him away, and got another:

¹ "Pred. Volg.," III, 427.

² *Ib.*, II, 368.

³ i.e. The Sienese to whom he is preaching.

⁴ *Forestiero*, i.e. not a Sienese. Mr. Heywood suggests that this information was given lest the audience might suppose that some fellow-citizen was referred to.

but we have heard that he has been excommunicated. So I should like you to send for him and admonish him ; I mean that you should punish him for what he has done.' —I answered him : 'Oh, I am not a bishop that I can either admonish or punish him'. He replied, 'Why, I think that you are bishop, and pope, and emperor'. And I really believe he meant what he said.'

The following passage, from the introductory sermon of his course "De Evangelio Aeterno,"¹ sets forth S. Bernardino's conception of his own duty as a preacher and explains his method of discharging it. After quoting the Apostle's saying : "For all the law is fulfilled in one word, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and other kindred texts, he says : "This then will be the fundamental matter which we shall discuss this Lent ; I mean the Eternal Gospel, or Charity.² And this befits God's honour, my own condition, and the salvation of souls. First, it befits God's honour ; for no preaching or discourse so glorifies and honours the boundless goodness of God as the preaching of the Eternal Gospel which also the Lord Himself preached and enjoined on the holy Apostles to preach. To me, then, as well as to His disciples he saith : 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel (that is, the Eternal Gospel) to every creature'. And indeed He Himself kept to that matter and form of preaching, and gave it to the Apostles as that which should redound to the greater glory of the Eternal Father.

"Next, it befits my own condition, who have professed the Rule of the Friars Minor. Accordingly, the glorious Francis, willing that he and his should be conformed in heart, word, and deed to the Lord Jesus Christ, inspired by God, saith in his Rule : 'Further, I admonish and exhort the Brethren that in their preaching their utterances be well weighed and chaste, for the profit and

¹ "Opera," II, 7.

² See below, ch. iv. p. 307.

edification of the people, proclaiming to them vices and virtues, punishment and glory, with shortness of speech'. That is, lest God's Word should cause repugnance or dislike. And though in the present work I have written some lengthy sermons, I have not put them there intending them all to be delivered in their entirety to the people in one discourse; only the utility of the things to be said has sometimes made me prolix. The which prolixity, however, I do not always use; but I shorten, lengthen, anticipate, postpone and vary according as time, convenience, and the hearers' profit demand; leaving this same procedure to be adopted by others."¹

And this brings us at once to the classification of S. Bernardino's extant sermons. They are of two kinds: those written out by himself in Latin, and those preached in the vernacular, of which we possess reports made by persons who had heard them delivered.² To the former class belong the Lenten courses (*a*) "De pugna spirituali"; "De Christiana Religione";³ "De Evangelio Aeterno" (except the sixty-fourth sermon, see below, p. 225); The Advent course "De Inspirationibus"; The Advent course "De Christiana Vita"; The sermons on the Beatitudes and the sermon on Obedience. (*b*) Other sermons: viz. those styled "Eximii," those for the festivals of the Blessed Virgin except the eleventh (see below, p. 225), those styled "De Tempore" and "De Sanctis," and numbers

¹i.e. By others who shall use these sermons to preach from.

²Ronzoni (p. 33) has already pointed out that this is the only rational classification.

³Some sermons of this course are missing, since none are provided for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday in Holy Week; and in Sermons 54 and 56 ("Opera," I, 287, 294, 296) passages from Sermons 57 and 59 are referred to by the numbers 64, 62, and 65; whereas the whole course as we have it comprises sixty sermons only. Number 52 of this course reappears almost word for word as number 58 "De Evangelio Aeterno".

14 to 25 of the "Sermones Extraordinarii". A missing course seems to be referred to in 12 "De Evangelio Aeterno" ("Opera," II, 77) under the title "Tractatus de Regno Dei"; and a sermon "De triumphali nomine Jesu" referred to in 49 "De Evangelio Aeterno" ("Opera," II, 296) seems also to be missing, for the sermon so entitled in "Opera," IV, 9, contains no passage corresponding to the reference.

Sermons 10, 11, 12 of the "Eximii" ("Opera," IV, 56 ff.) belong to a course on the Eucharist, of which the other sermons are missing. (For observations on the date of composition of S. Bernardino's written sermons, see Appendix II.)

To the second class (Reported Sermons) belong:

1. The Lenten course "Seraphin" as delivered at Padua in 1423¹ together with numbers 1 to 13 of the "Extraordinarii" which were preached at the same place before or after the delivery of the "Seraphin". (Numbers 12 and 13 "Extraordinarii" are really only one sermon divided. See below, p. 275, n. 2.) The report is in Latin; the sermons were preached in Italian.

2. A vernacular summary of the "Seraphin" course as preached at Florence in Lent, 1424, of which two manuscripts exist, viz. 1264 (P. II, 23) of the Biblioteca Riccar-

¹ The date 1443, adopted by Alessio (p. 378) and Thureau-Dangin without any reason assigned, is contested, and successfully in my opinion, by Ronzoni (p. 35, n. 4). The date 1423 is established by the fact that, as appears from the 36th "Seraphin" sermon ("Opera," III, 261-5), the feast of the Annunciation fell, in the year when the "Seraphin" was preached at Padua, on the Thursday after the 5th Sunday in Lent; which coincidence occurred in 1423; whereas in 1443 the Annunciation fell on the Monday after the 3rd Sunday in Lent. The only other year in Bernardino's life when the Annunciation coincided with the Thursday after the 5th Sunday in Lent was 1428 (see A. Cappelli, "Cronologia," (Milan, Hoepli) 140, 174) when he was not in Padua at all. For the same reason the date 1422 adopted by Ronzoni (*ubi supra*) is impossible.

diana at Florence and F. 6, 1329 ("Conventi Soppressi") of the Biblioteca Nazionale in the same place. Both these are, according to Hefele (p. 98, n. 2), founded on some common source which may be the reporter's original manuscript. Some extracts from these sermons, translated into German, are given in Hefele.

3. A course of sermons preached at Florence in Lent, 1425, of which an incomplete vernacular version said to be in Bernardino's own writing is preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Siena, and another incomplete report in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence (D. 2, 1330, "Conventi Soppressi". See Hefele, 97, n. 1). If the Siena MS. really is an autograph of the Saint, we should have the case, unexampled so far as I know, of sermons written out by him as intended to be delivered. Extracts from these sermons have appeared as publications "*per nozze*".¹ Other extracts, translated into German, will be found in Hefele.

4. The forty-five sermons preached at Siena in the summer of 1427, and published by Luciano Banchi under the title "Le prediche volgari di S. Bernardino da Siena".

5. Sermons preached at Amelia in 1426? of which a MS. Latin summary exists in the Vatican library, Codex n. 6966 (Al., 251).

6. The sixty-fourth sermon "De Evangelio Aeterno" ("Opera," II, 418), which is obviously a Latin summary made by a hearer of the sixty-third sermon as delivered in the vernacular, and may belong to a series of reports of the sermons of that course: and the eleventh sermon "Profest. B.V.M." ("Opera," IV, 117), which is in like manner a summary of the preceding tenth sermon.

7. A missing Lenten course preached at Arcevia

¹ O. Bacci, "Le prediche volgari di S. Bernardino," p. 133, in a volume of Conferenze published by the Commissione Senese di Storia Patria (Siena, 1895).

(Roccacontrada) in 1428? (see above, ch. II, p. 171) and reported or summarized by Arcangelo Santucci, a friar of the convent of S. Francis in that town. The manuscript of this report was seen by Abbate Lancellotti in the convent library, previously to the dispersion of its contents on the suppression of the convent by Napoleon I. Lancellotti describes the manuscript thus : "*Codex in 4° cartaceo antiquo caractere exarato asservatur in cenobio Sancti Francisci in cuius ecclesiæ idem concionatus est*" (see M.F., VII, 108, n. 1). It is not known what became of the manuscript.

With regard to a sermon on the love of God ascribed to Bernardino and printed from a manuscript in the Capitular Library at Verona by D. A. Spagnolo,¹ we may observe that though composed in Italian it manifestly belongs to the class of "written" as distinguished from that of "reported" sermons. It is in fact closely related to the sermon on S. Mary Magdalen (No. 2 "De Sanctis," "Opera," IV, 236); its framework is the same, and its text ("Canticles," II, 16), is suggested by Bernardino as an alternative text for the sermon on S. Mary Magdalen ("Opera," IV, 236); while the third "article" of the vernacular sermon is in many places translated with more or less freedom from the three "articles" of which the sermon on S. Mary Magdalen consists.² Now, since Bernardino's uniform practice, so far as we know, was to compose his sermons in Latin, I conjecture that this vernacular sermon is merely a translation or adaptation of some hitherto undiscovered Latin

¹ "Atti e memorie dell' Accademia d'agricoltura etc. di Verona," vol. LXXVI, pp. 15 ff. (Verona, Franchini, 1901). Another MS. of the sermon is in the Biblioteca Laurenziana-Riccardiana at Florence (*ib.*, p. 1, n. 4).

² I have not found anything in S. Bernardino's published sermons corresponding to Articles I and II of the vernacular sermon in question.

sermon of his, possibly another form of the sermon on S. Mary Magdalen.

The passage from the Introductory sermon "De Evangelio Aeterno," just now quoted clearly explains the purposes for which the sermons of the first class—those written out by Bernardino himself—were composed. In the first place, they were to form the solid foundation of theology on which he framed in the pulpit those outpourings of eloquence which electrified Italy for thirty years. These written sermons were the modest luggage he carried about with him on an ass, in order to refresh his memory from time to time, not only as to the weightier matters he had to discuss, but even as to the lighter touches with which he was so careful to keep his hearer's attention ever on the alert. Thus, for instance, in the sermon "De verbo Dei" ("Opera," IV, 138), he just jots down the memorandum "*Exemplum de domina Cerasagia*," while in the twenty-fifth of the Siena Sermons ("Pred. Volg.," II, 130), he tells the story at full length and with infinite zest. He was evidently very fond of this story, for we find it again in full in 5 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 168); and Æneas Sylvius too had heard him tell the story, which he cites as a typical instance of Bernardino's lighter vein.¹ So again a dry statement in general terms in 25 "De Evangelio Aeterno" ("Opera," II, 141) is transfigured in delivery into the beautiful description of a field in springtime, introducing the simile of the growth of the thistle to illustrate the growth of party spirit, which we meet with in the tenth Siena Sermon ("Pred. Volg.," I, 245). A specially good instance of the use which Bernardino made of his written sermons is afforded by a comparison of the sixteenth "De Evangelio Aeterno," with the seventeenth of the "Prediche

¹ Kollarus, "Analecta Monumentorum Vindobonensia," II, 536, 7.

Volgari".¹ The former is in effect an essay on the principles of good government with special reference to the case of a despotic ruler ; the latter is the same sermon as delivered to a popular audience and adapted to a republican regime. The written sermons, in fact, are to a great extent theological treatises, but cast into sermon-form because of the special purposes for which they were composed.²

Every one of Bernardino's sermons is laid out on an elaborate framework of divisions and sub-divisions.³ The complexity of these may sometimes provoke a smile (see for instance the thirty-ninth of the "Prediche volgari") ; but the system, which was, of course, the product of a thorough training in the Scholastic Philosophy, ensured thoroughness of treatment and entirely prevented that inconclusive meandering which is too common in our pulpits nowadays. Moreover, to a speaker so fluent as Bernardino, this careful planning out of his sermons proved a most useful check on excessive verbosity. Continually in the Siena Sermons he pulls himself up with the exclamation "*A casa*," i.e. "Let me get home, back to my subject". An amusing instance occurs in the twenty-third sermon ("Pred. Volg.", II, 229) when he says : "Let me get back to my subject! I certainly will, so as not to have to pay 5 *soldi*—for I haven't got them!" alluding to a law imposing a fine on any

¹ Compare also 17 and 18 "De Christ. Rel." with the 20th and 21st of the "Pred. Volg." ; or 22 "De Christ. Rel." with the 6th and 7th of the "Pred. Volg."

² e.g. 24 "De Ev. Aet." is a treatise on the Religious Life including a dialogue wherein the current objections to embracing this life are refuted *seriatim* ; 51 "De Christ. Rel." is a treatise on the Passion, including a devotional commentary of singular beauty on the Gospel narratives. The parallel sermon, 56 "De Ev. Aet." is also a treatise on the Passion, but less impressive and interesting.

³ Contrast S. Francis's manner of preaching (2 Celano, 107).

member of the *Consiglio Generale della Campana* who wandered from the subject in debate.¹

But secondly the Written Sermons were designed for the use of other preachers. Bernardino's success as a preacher soon became known far and wide; and many were desirous of learning something of the secret of that success; hence frequent requests reached him, not only from Italy, but also from foreign countries, for permission to copy his sermons.² Bernardino, on his part, with true Franciscan liberality, was ready to place his labours at the disposal of others, as we have seen by the statement in a preceding extract (above, p. 223). And similarly at the end of the course "De pugna spirituali" ("Opera," III, 118) he gives some hints to preachers wishing to use those sermons.³

Before studying separately (as we must) the Written and the Reported Sermons, one or two points should be noted concerning S. Bernardino's sermons in general.

In the first place he broke with the tradition that the sermon must be an exposition of the passage of Scripture appointed to be read as the Epistle or the Gospel for the day. He thus got a wider field, and could deal with the Bible as a whole and on broad lines, instead of keeping to the mere exposition of one short passage. This reform was of the most salutary nature, for under the system hitherto prevalent it was not, as Ronzoni observes (p. 47) the eternal Gospel that was preached when the Epistle or the Gospel for the day was expounded; for this ancient custom, inherited even from the primitive Church, had become profoundly

¹ "Il Costituto del Comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCI," Dist. I, Rubr. ccxlvi.

² "Vita ex Surio," "Opera," I, xxiii. Cf. Capistrano's "Life of S. B." (*ib.* xxxviii.)

³ Cf. also Sermon 3 "De Insp." ("Opera," III, 142), and Sermons 7 and 56 "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 41, 356), and see below, p. 256.

corrupt. Preachers now only used the Epistles and Gospels as pegs on which to hang disquisitions, on all kinds of minute points of exegesis, philosophy, astrology, or physics, connected (it might be) very remotely with the text. All this pernicious stuff, which Dante had long ago denounced,¹ Bernardino threw overboard,² and he proclaims his own way of preaching as follows in the passage of the first sermon "De Evangelio Aeterno" succeeding that already quoted ("Opera," II, 7): "In them [viz., the Apostles, their followers, and S. Francis] Christ plainly shows that to preach the eternal Gospel is not merely to preach on the Epistles and Gospels which are most holily set forth in the Missal according to the different seasons; but He judges that these portions and also the entire Holy Scripture, both of the Old and of the New Testament, are the eternal Gospel; and that therein that is to be preached on, which, according to the different graces given to preachers by the Lord, may advance God's honour and the salvation of souls. And herein are most plainly included especially these four articles, Vices, Virtues, Punishment and Glory." Bernardino, in short, will preach on the whole of man's life, both present and to come. He tells us in one of the Siena Sermons ("Pred. Volg.," III, 456, 457), that the conviction of the true meaning of "preaching the Gospel" came to him "fifteen years before," i.e. in 1412; and that he dated the beginning of his fruitful preaching of the Word from that year.

Another noticeable feature of Bernardino's sermons is his unbounded reverence for the Holy Scriptures and

¹ See "Par.," XXIX, 88-120. Benvenuto in commenting on this passage (somewhere about the time of S. Bernardino's birth) cries: "Ah, how often have I heard physics, astrology, and medicine preached to silly women!" ("Comentum super Dantis Comoediam" V, 439, ed. Lacaita).

² No. 5 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 168: "De verbo Dei," "Opera," IV, 137.

his constant reference to them. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that every statement he makes is buttressed by a text or texts from the Bible.¹ A very large portion of his sermons is expository. He was determined, so far as he could, to make his hearers familiar with God's Word. How else indeed could they become familiar with it before the age of print? The principle was undoubtedly sound, but Bernardino's application of it forms (for the modern reader at any rate) the weakest and least convincing element in his preaching. The allegorical interpretation of Holy Writ, so fruitful and illuminating when kept within due bounds, was become in Bernardino's time, and indeed had long been, a veritable monomania. Every sentence, nay every word in the Bible had an allegorical meaning, or if not, must be fitted with one. The result was often grotesque, as in the following example from the forty-second sermon "De pugna spirituali" ("Opera," III, 115). Speaking of our Lord's being stript of his garments in His passion, the preacher says: "This stripping was represented in Noah, who, when drunk, lay naked in his tent; for Christ, drunk with love, lay naked on the Cross, and Ham (i.e. the people of the Jews) mocked Him". Or this, from the fifteenth of the Siena Sermons ("Pred. Volg.," I, 376): "Anger," he says, "is like a burning mountain. Touch it not, for it casts forth a very great and perilous fire. Hear what David says about it: 'Touch the mountains and they shall smoke'. That means that if you touch this mountain, it will smoke by doing your neighbour harm". The same method enabled him even to turn the rather questionable

¹ Perhaps the only exception is to be found in the sermon on the Assumption of the B.V.M. ("Opera," IV, 122), where, admitting the slightness of the evidence for this event, he grounds his belief in it mainly on the consensus of pious opinion and on a priori reasoning.

injunction in Proverbs xxxi. 6, 7, to edification (Sermon 6 "De Christiana Rel.," "Opera," I, 27).

S. Francis, Bernardino's pattern, was not a theologian in the ordinary sense of the word, and discouraged the study of divinity by his disciples. In his own case the marvellous gift of spiritual insight bestowed on him by God put him on a level with the most learned divines;¹ but Bernardino was conscious of no such gift, and knew that in order to lay out his own talent to the best advantage, he must laboriously study the standard divines of the Church as well as the Civil and Canon Law.² The principal writers of both the early and the mediaeval Church are continually referred to (with the significant exception of William of Ockham) as well as many of lesser importance. Among the Schoolmen we find frequent references to S. Bonaventura, S. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others, but above all to Alexander of Hales, for whom Bernardino had an enthusiastic admiration. "*O Alisandro gentile*," he cries, "*che si può ben dire Alisandro magno!*" ("Pred. Volg., II, 316). He had lived on intimate terms with these men, and in his simplicity would make his hearers, even the men, women, and children in the Campo at Siena, love them too. "*Udisti mai quello che disse quel grande cozzone santo Ieronimo?*" he exclaims (op. cit., II, 187), just as elsewhere he speaks of S. Paul with affectionate familiarity as "*Pavolozzo nostro*".

But there is one mediaeval writer Bernardino's references to whom are specially interesting, I mean Dante (see above, ch. II. p. 86). We find traces of Bernardino's Dante studies in various parts of his sermons. Thus he thrice quotes lines from the famous episode of Count Guido of Montefeltro in "Inf." XXVII ("Pred. Volg.,"

¹ See 2 Celano, 102-5.

² Cf. his eulogy of the University of Siena in "Pred. Volg.," III, 247.

II, 234; III, 80, 367). There is a clear reminiscence of "Purg.," VI, 136, 137, in "Pred. Volg.," I, 276 (lines 17-9); of "Par.," XI, 107, in "Pred. Volg.," III, 26 (lines 19, 20); a passage in the thirty-third Siena Sermon ("Pred. Volg." III. 53), about Lucifer being fixed in the centre of the earth, is plainly suggested by "Inf.," XXXIV, 106-11; in the forty-second ("Pred. Volg.," III, 353) he refers to Dante's choice of Virgil as a guide through Hell; and in Sermon 5 of the "Seraphin" course ("Opera," III, 168) the metaphor of sinners being immersed in their vices "up to the eyes," "up to the nose," and "up to the chin," seems like a reminiscence of the punishment of the tyrants in "Inf." XII, who are immersed in blood, some up to one point, some up to another.¹ The line *Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda* ("Par.," I, 34) appears in Latin in Sermon 5 "De Inspirationibus" ("Opera," III, 151). The apostrophe to Siena in "Pred. Volg.," I, 276, may have been suggested by the apostrophe to Florence in "Purg.," VI, 136. The description of Poverty as the Bride of Christ in the sermon on the first Beatitude ("Opera," III, 27) is an amplification of "Par." XI, 64-72: unless indeed it be derived directly from the "Arbor Vitae" of Ubertino of Casale, as the passage in Dante is. (See E. G. Gardner, "Dante and the Mystics," p. 234.) Lastly the statement in 24 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 219) "*Christus docet quod in magnis opportunum est ire cum pedibus plumbeis*" suggests the similar phrase in "Par.," XIII, 112.

The weird figure of Fr. Jacopone of Todi, the bard of the Zealot Franciscans, also occasionally makes his appearance.²

Towards Joachim, Bernardino adopts an attitude of prudent reserve. His Commentary on the Apocalypse

¹ Cf. also the reference to the text "Delectasti," in Sermons 1 and

² "De Inspirationibus" ("Opera," III, 124, 130) with "Purg.," XXVIII, 80.

² e.g. "Prediche Volgari," I, 373. See M.F., XI, 145-8.

is referred to at the beginning of the thirty-second of the Siena Sermons ("Pred. Volg.," III, 25) : but as we shall see below (p. 307) Bernardino does not follow Joachim in his own Commentary on the Apocalypse. Of the corrupt followers of Joachim, Bernardino spoke in terms of contemptuous indignation, remembering as he did how their stupid fanaticism had (as we have seen) wellnigh shattered the great Order to which he belonged. "Very many," he said toward the end of his life,¹ "are seduced, thinking that the figments which they themselves have framed beforehand, or which have been suggested to them by the spirit of error, are the work of the Holy Ghost. And so we have been stuffed with predictions till we are sick ; for instance, about the coming of Antichrist and the signs of the approaching judgment, the persecution and reformation of the Church, and the like ; to which even sober and devout men have given more credit than they ought, drawing various interpretations out of the writings of Joachim and other foretellers. And even if such predictions were true and authentic, yet might God's servants find many other matters wherein they could be more fruitfully engaged, seeing that our Lord Jesus Christ has rebuked such curious investigators of times, saying, 'It is not for you to know the times or moments which the Father hath put in His own power' ; not in man's." Bernardino nowhere quotes Olivi, so far as I know, but studied his writings, as we may infer from the letter mentioned above (ch. II. p. 190).

Nor did Bernardino neglect the writers of classical antiquity : we find him referring to Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Virgil, Lucan, Seneca, Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*), Valerius Maximus, Quintilian, Frontinus, Vegetius, Vitruvius, Eusebius, Macrobius, Apuleius, Orosius and

¹ Sermon 2 "De Inspirationibus," ("Opera," III, 132).

(probably at second hand) Homer.¹ The citation of Juvenal ("Sat." III, 142) in the sermon on the sixth Beatitude ("Opera," III, 48) is also, I think, at second-hand.

But these authors were to him nothing more than Scriptures, to be used for edification, just as Dante had used them.² With the Humanists as such, revelling in the Classics as literature, the austere descendant of S. Francis and of Angelo Clareno could have no sympathy, nor they with him.³ We must not be misled by the friendly intercourse which he is known to have had with many of them ; and when they went to hear him preach, we may be sure that it was from curiosity, or because they were drawn by his personal fascination. For even where writing as professing Christians, the Humanists' point of view is absolutely different from that of the Saint. Take for example the eighth Epistle of the eighth book of the "Epistles" of Francesco Filelfo, a contemporary, and we may add, an enemy of S. Bernardino,⁴ which is extremely characteristic of a virtuous Humanist's view of life, and not the less so that it contains the sentence "*Ita tecum agitur divina quadam be-*

¹ "Ut Homerus videtur dicere" ("Opera," III, 93).

² See E. Moore, "Studies in Dante," Series I, 167.

³ The notorious hostility of Poggio toward the Observants in general (tempered as to Bernardino by a half-contemptuous admiration) was stimulated by personal spite, in consequence of Carlo de' Ricasoli having bestowed a villa near Florence coveted by Poggio, on Bernardino, to be converted into an Observant convent (Al., 207). In 1430 Albert of Sarteano addressed on this occasion a dignified apology for the Observants to Poggio, who, in his rage and disappointment, had not hesitated to accuse "almost all of them except Bernardino and Albert himself" of horrible crimes (Alberti a Sarthiano Epist. XXI in "Opera," pp. 203 ff. (Rome, 1688), also in M. and D., III, 757). That Poggio continued on friendly terms with Bernardino till the close of Bernardino's life, appears from Albert of Sarteano's letter to Poggio referred to above (see ch. I. p. 78).

⁴ See F. Donati in "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria," I, 61.

nigritate ut qui prope nihil habeam [he has just explained that he has a modest competence] *videar omnia possidere*". Bernardino (or even S. Francis for that matter), might have said the same ; but then he would not have begun by declaring that he was and always had been an adherent of the Stoic philosophy.

So indifferent, in fact, was our Saint to the new learning that he made no attempt to acquire the Ciceronian elegance that was the hall-mark of the man of culture in those days. The rough but serviceable Latinity of the Middle Ages was good enough for him. Happy indeed that it was so ! For as Ronzoni (p. 111) very well says : " Had Humanism made itself felt in Bernardino's training, he would not have studied nature in itself, but as viewed through the gilded prism of the classical writers. His great originality would have been impeded in its development by the ornaments and trappings of Greek and Latin literature." For the Humanists, in their eagerness to reproduce the literature and life of a period that had long passed away and could never be restored, were too often building on a foundation of make-believe and convention which was the very antipodes of the simplicity and truthfulness of the faithful followers of S. Francis.¹

One of the characteristics of S. Bernardino's sermons in general is the sound common-sense which everywhere marks his preaching. Out of countless instances which might be given I select a few. In the third sermon " De Christiana Vita " (" Opera," III, 16), with regard to the duty of rebuking our neighbour when he is committing a mortal sin, Bernardino points out that this duty is only obligatory when there is reason to think

¹ Bernardino's instinctive dislike of the Humanists' mental attitude was reinforced by their attacks on the Faith (9 " Eximii," " Opera," IV, 52). See further as to S. Bernardino and the Humanists, below, ch. iv. p. 306.

that our correction will have a good effect ; and he insists that the performance of it should be prompted by a loving desire for our neighbour's salvation ; not by pique or anger at his having offended us. Similarly in the third "Seraphin" sermon ("Opera," III, 162) after remarking that Zeal and Rancour are next-door neighbours, he says : "It often happens when you rebuke your child or neighbour, that he reviles you ; and you don't leave off, but persist in rebuking him, and he in reviling you ; and so you get angry, and hate him ; and you sin, because, thinking you are entering Zeal's door, you are entering Rancour's and Hatred's. . . . But if you see that he refuses correction, try kind words instead."

So in the seventh sermon "De Christiana Religione" ("Opera," I, 30) he deprecates indiscriminate almsgiving which (he says) mostly arises from "the vice of simplicity". "You should not give alms to every beggar and drunken vagabond ; whence it is written (Eccl. XII. 5, 6) 'give to a righteous man and give not to a sinner,' that is, to the encouragement of sin ; for many beggars haunt taverns and other disreputable places, setting examples of depravity."

So again in the twenty-eighth of the Siena sermons ("Pred. Volg.," II, 385), speaking of the case when one is in doubt whether to do or leave undone some particular thing, he gives the following advice : "In the first place (he says) pray to God to enlighten your mind and keep you from transgressing His will". Then he points out that the mind in perplexity is like water in which the mud at the bottom has been stirred up. "If you want to see what there is in that muddy water, you cannot at once. What's to be done ? You must wait till it gets clear. Then, when it is calm again, you will see it so beautifully clear that you can detect every little thing in it. Even so with your mind when it is disturbed . . . you must wait till it is at rest again ; and then you will see clearly

into it, and be able to follow the good and forsake the evil."

In his treatment of the case of the honest doubter, Bernardino's sound sense is also conspicuous. "There are very many," he says (6 "De Ev. Aet.," "Opera," II, 37), "who, though living exemplary lives, are grievously troubled concerning many articles of the Faith. Let such take comfort, for if God is ever pleased to restore them to the full light of the Faith, their prayers, alms, and other good works are already earning for them a rich reward; and if God does not see fit to give them back their faith, we must take it that the palm of martyrdom is reserved for them in Heaven, since such mental distress is among the most terrible afflictions of this life. Sometimes, however, these troubles spring from a physical cause, namely, what the doctors term melancholia; and in such cases, after frequent prayer to God for deliverance, and recourse to medical treatment, let the sufferer resolutely put all his distressing cogitations aside, not trouble his conscience with them, and rarely speak of them, even under colour of asking advice; otherwise he is doing nothing else but trying to put out a fire by feeding it with dry wood."

In his dealing with the abounding superstitions of his day the preacher's common-sense is specially evident. Simple cases of superstitious credulity he treats with ridicule. "Come, women," he cries in one of the Siena sermons,¹ "have you seen any of the Virgin Mary's milk? The buffaloes of Lombardy haven't got as much

¹ "Pred. Volg.," II, 267; cf. II, 375, and 8 and 9 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 176 ff.). The current superstitious practices (sometimes complicated by devil-worship) are minutely described in 10 "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 41, 42) and enumerated in the sermon on the Sixth Beatitude ("Opera," III, 50). On the subject generally consult "The Examples of Fra Filippo," by W. Heywood, ch. vi. (Siena, Torrini, 1901).

milk as it is said there is of hers all over the world. Let me tell you that she had just as much milk as sufficed for Christ Jesus' little mouth, and no more ; and don't believe there is any more to be had ! " Another time his mention of S. Antony's fire caused the congregation to spit, so as to avert the omen, and he breaks off and tells them not to do it (" Pred. Volg.," III, 432).

When, however, the personal action of the Devil was in question, Bernardino treats the matter with becoming gravity, and the eighth " Seraphin " sermon (" Opera," III, 176) contains rules for distinguishing the Devil's miracles from God's. From this sermon I translate the following passage. The point is, that God's miracles are supernatural, but that the Devil's fall within the course of nature. " It happened once at Florence that when the schoolboys came out of school and found a big tree or a beam lying on the ground, one of them would touch it with one finger at one end, and another at the other end, uttering certain words to themselves, and then, both together crying, ' Up ! Up ! Up ! ' they lifted a huge piece of wood that ten men could not have lifted. And in this way they lifted an enormous stone in the Friars Minor's convent : wherefore the Bishop's attention was called to the matter and it was ordered on pain of excommunication that no one should attempt such things any more. Now it does seem a wonderful thing that two boys should lift such a block of wood ; but yet it is neither beyond nor above Nature that that block of wood should be lifted by several men ; and if so, much more might it be lifted by several devils ; for in fact many invisible devils were helping those boys to lift the block. And so the Devil can do natural things, but not supernatural." And then he goes on to note the profound truth, that Christ's miracles differ from all others in that they were wrought with a great spiritual

purpose; they were, in fact, Signs by which much of His teaching was conveyed.¹

From the above extracts it will be gathered that Bernardino, while holding in wholesome contempt the grosser artifices of the charlatan, shared the general belief in the active intervention of devils in the affairs of human life.² Thus, one day at Siena his sermon (on the evils of party strife) was cut short by a storm of rain, and next morning Bernardino exclaims: "That cursed Old Nick (*Cappelluccio*) would not let us preach fully as we had begun to do, but we'll pay him out with interest, for, with the help of blessed Jesus, we'll preach about it all this week!" ("Pred. Volg.", II, 21). And in another of the same sermons he tells a story of a woman who had slept for a year with a devil without knowing it, when at length his identity was discovered by means of the scales, like those of Behemoth in Job xli. 6, with which the lower part of his belly was covered.³ An instance of superstition on Bernardino's own part occurs in "Pred. Volg.", III, 371, where, speaking of a woman having fainted during one of his previous sermons, "Oh! (he cries) what a bad sign I thought it! And so it proved, for I never remember a sermon of that kind followed by so few reconciliations as that one!"

Another general characteristic of Bernardino's preaching is the strict manner of life he enjoined on his

¹ *Non invenies Christum fecisse miracula sine magna et notabili causa. . . . Nunquam aliquod miraculum fecit sine magno mysterio* ("Opera," III, 177. Cf. H. Latham, "Pastor Pastorum," ch. IV.).

² A summary statement of the character and behaviour of devils will be found in the first sermon, "De Inspirationibus" ("Opera," III, 121). In the third sermon (*ib.*, 145) he ridicules those who attributed every unexpected occurrence to diabolic agency. On the demonology of the period see W. Heywood, "The Examples of Fra Filippo," ch. vi.; and Rondoni, "Tradizioni popolari e leggende di un Comune medioevale e del suo contado" (Florence, 1886).

³ "Pred. Volg.", I, 294. Cf. 8 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 178).

hearers. In spite of the keen interest which, as we shall see, he took in every detail of human activity, he was always at heart the Zealot Franciscan, the spiritual descendant of Angelo Clareno, for whom the world to come was everything and the present world nothing. Religion was the one thing that mattered ; he had himself given up all for Christ, and would be satisfied with nothing short of the standard of the Sermon on the Mount. Hence we are not surprised to find him charged with rigorism. " You've been sending us all to damnation," said the humanist Giannozzo Manetti to him one day, after a particularly fiery sermon in the Cathedral of Florence.¹ " I send no one to damnation," he replied, " it's men's vices and failings that do it." Again, he tells us in the twenty-seventh " Seraphin " sermon (" Opera," III, 230), that people accused him of driving men to despair by his preaching ; and he adds : " I deny it : but I desire to point out the pit, so that those who do not wish to fall into it may beware ". Some examples of his strictness may now be given. In one of the Siena sermons (" Pred. Volg.," III, 226), he lays it down that such of a rich man's possessions as are in excess of his reasonable wants belong to the poor : and if he dies without making them over to the poor, he goes to hell. Again, if a merchant has acquired wealth, but has no children to inherit it, he commits mortal sin if he continues in business ; unless, indeed, it be in order to give his profits to God (29 " Seraphin," " Opera," III, 235). If a notary has reason to think that a contract he is drawing up is usurious, he commits a mortal sin in drawing it up, and is bound to make good all the loss thence resulting to his neighbour. Similarly, where a usurer has no other resources but the profits of his business, any persons employed by him, e.g. his physician, lawyer or barber, are bound to restore

¹ See below, p. 261.

all that they have received from him (30 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 241, 242). It is a mortal sin to dance on Sundays or feast-days, except only on the occasion of State functions or weddings. The whole of such days is to be spent in public worship and private meditation (36 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 265). Bernardino held that the order under the Mosaic dispensation for the observance of the Sabbath on the seventh day of the week was a ceremonial order only, and that accordingly this observance was transferred to the first day under the Gospel.¹

In regard to widowhood, Bernardino's teaching is decidedly severe. He considered this state as a species of "Religion". The widow must live in almost complete seclusion. "I want you to learn to live like nuns," he said ("Pred. Volg.", II, 181), addressing the widows of Siena.² And then he sketches out an elaborate programme of devotions for them, including some to be performed in the middle of the night. On no account must a widow sleep on a feather-bed. "It's a bad habit to sleep on a feather-bed! Eat well, drink well and sleep well, and you'll come to a bad end. I'll teach you to remove occasions of sin. Are you going to bed? —Yes—Well then, go to bed with your clothes on—She will say: I can't get to sleep like that.—Well, then, let me teach you further. Stay awake, for I promise you that if you'll stay awake till the longing for sleep comes over you, you will be glad enough to lie down on the ground, and on the stones." Then he advises her to keep to a low diet, unless indeed she be sick, and once more recommends her to sleep on straw and above all without taking her clothes off.³ The true widow

¹ See 10 "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 52), where the subject is minutely discussed.

² He is here specially referring to young widows.

³ It is curious to see what virtue Bernardino ascribed to this

must live unto God, and be dead to the world ; her only occupations, besides her devotions, should be making garments for the poor and working altar linen ; and bringing up her children, if she have any. If she has any thought of her latter end, she will not even think of marrying again ; and the preacher's dissuasion is emphasized by a picture of the troubles of a second marriage. "If you bring your children with you, they will find a step-father : and do you know what happens then ? Why, if you show these children the least bit more of love than he approves of, he at once breaks into angry complaints like this : 'Oh, I see well enough that she loves the bones of her dead husband much better than me !'" etc., etc. ("Pred. Volg.", II, 200).

In keeping with that austerity of life to which Bernardino exhorted his hearers are his denunciations of all superfluity and luxury, and especially of women's finery and artificial embellishments ("vanities" is his comprehensive word) of which, by the way, he had a pretty extensive knowledge. This was a matter which seems to have vexed his soul more than anything else, and besides six sermons wholly or in part devoted to this topic, derisive or indignant remarks about it are scattered throughout his writings. "The Italian women," says Mr. Heywood¹ "were notorious for the trouble which practice, the advantage of which he had perhaps learnt from his cousin Tobia (above, p. 87), who, we are told, always slept in her clothes (L. Benvoglienti in A.B., XXI, p. 64). In Serm. 43, "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 293) he says that one ought to sleep with one's clothes on for three nights before receiving the Holy Communion at Easter, by way of penitential discipline. Æneas Sylvius tells us that John of Capistrano did the same thing when preaching at Vienna after S. Bernardino's death (Kollarus, "Analecta Monumentorum Vindobonensia," II, 178).

¹ "The Examples of Fra Filippo," ch. III., where much curious information about women's life in Italy at this time will be found. As to Siena, see "La Donna senese del quattrocento nella vita privata," by E. Casanova ("Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria," vol. VIII, p. 1).

they took to alter their appearance by all the means which the toilet could afford. Dyes and other mixtures were freely used for the hair ; and we meet with an endless list of beautifying waters, plasters, and paints for every single part of the face—even for the teeth and eyelids—of which in our day we can form no conception." In the matter of clothing, unbridled luxury and extravagance prevailed. At Siena, for instance, in 1427, sleeves were worn of such monstrous size as to take up more material than all the rest of the costume ("Pred. Volg.," III, 66).

The chief grounds on which Bernardino denounced all these things were : (1) the enormous waste of money and good material ; (2) the consequent temptation to the women's husbands and male relations to engage in illicit ways of gain ; (3) the use by women of artificial embellishments and wanton attire to attract paramours ; (4) the discouragement of matrimony induced by such extravagance.

I now quote one or two specimen passages. "Who might readily express the abuses found not only in Magnates' palaces but even in the houses of common citizens? Consider the size and the softness of the beds : there you will find sheets of silk or lawn, with borders of wondrous gold-work. Precious coverlets hanging from the bed, woven with amazing skill or sewn with the needle, painted, and provocative of lust ; pillows prepared on every side. . . . Who might express the value of the gilded and painted curtains? O height and roughness of the cross of Christ! O penalty of the crucified! O folly of the Son of God! for what need had the Lord Christ to suffer and so to enter into His glory if enslaved men shall be able with so many delights, so many vanities, so many lusts to enter into the glory of another?"¹ Oh, with what complacency would God rest

¹ i.e. If such slaves of luxury can get to Heaven.

with the children of men, if with such diligence they adorned the chamber of their conscience, and, with the Prophet, every night washed their bed with their tears!" (Serm. 44, "De Christ. Rel.", "Opera," I, 207).

"It would seem a strange thing if a woman on the death of her husband or father should go to Mass with her head decked with flowers. But it is much more strange for a woman redeemed with Christ's blood, the daughter and spouse of the Supreme Father, to go to Mass with her head ornamented not with flowers only but with gold and precious stones, with paint and false hair; for every Mass is celebrated in memory of Christ's Passion. . . . O the vanity of thee, woman, who deckest thy head with such a multitude of vanities! Remember that divine Head at which the Angels tremble. . . . That Head is crowned with thorns while thine is adorned with jewels. His hair is stained with blood: but thy hair (or rather that which is not thine own) is bleached artificially. His cheeks are befouled with spitting, blood and bruises: but thine are coloured with rouge and varied pigments. His beauteous eyes, which the Angels of God contemplate, are darkened by most bitter death; but thine seem to sparkle with the ardour of lust and the flames of wantonness" (47, "De Christ. Rel.", "Opera," I, 221).

"What shall we say of the disgraceful and disgusting fashion of trains, which the Devil has so spread abroad throughout Italy in my time, that there is not even the meanest wench that does not blush if she walks about without a train? . . . Concerning the which trains, I believe that all who wear them, or cause others to wear them, or do not prevent them from being worn (if that is their business) are sinning mortally; unless perhaps their high station may excuse them, even as it may be that the wives of great Lords and Princes are excused" (44, "De Christ. Rel.", "Opera," I, 205). The wearing

of long trains was in fact a rather serious ecclesiastical offence, if not excused by the custom of the country, and Pope Eugenius IV accordingly conferred upon the Observants the privilege in certain circumstances of absolving women for this offence, and also of absolving tailors "adapting" such trains, "*modo novas non assuerent inventiones*" (Wadding, XI, 110).

We come now to the special consideration of the Written Sermons. The earliest in date, and the least important, are those forming the Lenten course "De Pugna Spirituali" ("Opera," III, 69 ff.). These sermons as printed are in fact little more than skeleton notes which would be fully developed in delivery. They show a rigidity of treatment which is not met with in the later courses; the preacher, for instance, has not yet shaken off the traditional inclusion in each sermon of an exposition of the Gospel for the day (see above, p. 229): and they also betray the influence of S. Vincent Ferrer's style of preaching.¹ The scheme of the course is the application of the conditions and rules of secular warfare, both military and naval, to the warfare of the Christian: the plan of the individual sermons is as follows: (a) We have a statement of the practice in some particular department of secular warfare, illustrated by copious examples mainly gathered from Valerius Maximus, Frontinus and Vegetius. (b) The matter set forth in (a) is applied to spiritual warfare with illustrations from Holy Scripture and standard Divines. (c) The subject is wrought into a brief exposition of the Gospel for the day. In the sermons for Holy Week, however, Bernardino declines to preach any more about wars or worldly matters, for that it is a time for weeping; and occupies himself with the Passion alone.

As a specimen, the fifth sermon ("Opera," III, 73) may be referred to. The subject is, the choice of a fit

¹ See as to this Ronzoni, 34, 44.

place for fighting. The preacher shows how that such a place must be (*a*) safe from attack, (*b*) healthy, (*c*) well supplied with food, and (*d*) with drink. And then he explains that the like conditions hold good in the spiritual warfare, for (*a*) a safe place must be chosen, which is the Church; (*b*) there must be the wholesome food of the Sacred Scriptures; (*c*) good air, which is humility; (*d*) suitable drink, which is charity.

With regard to the illustrations from secular warfare I need hardly mention that Bernardino had no personal experience to draw upon; but he was keenly interested in this as in every other department of human life, for he tells us in the Siena Sermons¹ that he took the opportunity when in Milan of finding out details as to the manufacture of cuirasses and coats of mail; and artlessly confesses that he would dearly love to see a battle just for once ("Pred. Volg.", I, 290). Such personal touches are almost completely absent from the sermons we are now considering; which also differ from his maturer discourses in that the hortatory parts are general rather than specific; for instance, we find no mention of those feminine "vanities" which he so pitilessly denounces in his later sermons.

The two courses "De Christiana Religione" and "De Evangelio Aeterno" cover the whole range of Christian life and devotion; moreover, they occupy 750 folio pages in double column. It is therefore manifestly impossible for me to deal with these sermons in detail, nor, were it possible, would it be advisable to do so, since they are to a very large extent professedly compilations from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. I therefore confine myself to those parts which are likely to prove most interesting to a modern reader; namely, the sermons of an Apologetic character in both courses,

¹ "Pred. Volg." I, 299, III, 174.

and the sermons on Property and Contract in the "De Evangelio Aeterno".¹

The stronghold of the Mediaeval Church was beginning to be battered from opposite sides by the missiles of the semi-pagan Humanists, and by those of the fore-runners of the Reformation. Hence the defence of the Faith was becoming an urgent matter, and as we shall see, Bernardino devotes a good deal of attention to it. The first sermon "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 3), is on the foundations of the Faith. The truth of the Christian Faith (he argues) is established : (a) By the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. (b) By the unity of spirit pervading the whole of the Scriptures. (c) By the trustworthiness of the witnesses whose writings declare it. (d) By the care taken in the composition of the canon both of the Old Testament and of the New. (e) By the reasonableness of the articles of the Faith, and of the morality it enjoins, which morality is "a kind of unfolding of the law of nature". (f) By the unreasonableness and immorality of other religions. (g) By the evidence of its miracles. No other nation or sect has had an unfailing continuance of miraculous evidence : e.g. miracles ceased in the Jewish Church after Christ came. But if it be denied that the miracles happened, Bernardino rejoins with the famous argument of S. Augustin that in that case the Christian Faith was propagated without miracles, which thing itself is a miracle so astounding that the recorded miracles sink into insignificance beside it. (h) By the circumstance that the Christian faith alone pays due honour to God and sets forth an adequate conception of Him. (j) By the permanence of the Church. (k) By the temporal and spiritual calamities of the Jews ; for, if Christ was justly rejected by them, they ought to have enjoyed far greater temporal and spiritual advantages than ever before,

¹ On the sermons on Restitution, see below, ch. iv. p. 318.

especially as they had never been so free from idolatry as at the time of Christ; whereas since then no nation has undergone such temporal calamities; and as to spiritual things, they have lost their Temple, and its worship, nor has any true Prophet arisen among them. (1) If the Christian Faith is an error, God has given occasion for that error, and has supported it: whereby His justice and mercy are abolished. It is to be noted that Bernardino, unlike S. Thomas ("Summa Theol.", I, 2), does not attempt to prove the existence of God, but asserts that this is a matter of faith, and incapable of proof *per necessariam rationem*. And after all, as he says elsewhere (13 "De Ev. Aet.", "Opera," II, 79-82) no one is entitled to demand proof of the Faith, since it is dishonouring God to refuse to believe without proof. The Faith must be held as a matter of obedience to God's command, not because He is true nor because what He says is true; but because He commands us to believe it. To demand proof is, moreover, a sign of weakness; for if the Faith were a matter of proved certainty, there would be no merit in embracing it.

The twentieth sermon ("Opera," I, 85) is likewise of an apologetic character, at least to this extent, that it is designed to strengthen the faith of the adherents of the Church, which faith was grievously imperilled by the scandalous life of the clergy, both secular and regular. Many were in fact drawn into infidelity by this cause, as Bernardino tells us in the preceding sermon ("Opera," I, 83). Moreover the wickedness and worldliness of many of the Church's ministers had furnished the starting-point of the revolutionary movements of Wyclif and his follower John Hus, which tended to break up the elaborate structure of Christian doctrine and discipline built up by the mediaeval Popes and theologians. Further, the prestige of the Holy See had been seriously impaired by the Great Schism, and perhaps still

more by the measures that had been found necessary to bring it to an end. In fact, after having got rid of three Pontiffs each of whom had been claiming to be Christ's Vicar, the Council of Constance had itself actually governed the Church for some months preceding the election of Pope Martin V, on 11 November, 1417;¹ and at this election the Conclave had included, beside the Cardinals then resident at Constance, Prelates and Doctors appointed by each of the five "Nations" represented at the Council. Indeed throughout the period of Bernardino's greatest activity as a preacher the Papal authority was in eclipse, nor did it in any degree recover its lustre till 1439, when the Council of Florence under Eugenius IV, by effecting the union between the Latin and Greek churches (illusory though it proved) and by passing a decree affirming that the Pope derives his power not from the will of the faithful, but immediately from Christ, did something to rehabilitate the supremacy of the Papacy.

These things being so, we are not surprised to find that Bernardino in the present sermon takes up in opposition to the Hussites and unbelievers the same position that S. Francis had taken up 200 years before in the face of the attacks on the Church by the Cathari and Waldenses, and asserts the authority of the priesthood in an extreme form. Founding his discourse on the significant text Matthew xxiii. 2, 3 ("the Scribes and Pharisees sat on Moses' seat," etc.) he first inculcates, even as S. Francis had done, the paying of due reverence to the material temples of God. Then he goes on to set forth the honour due to the ministers of the Church; "as is necessarily demanded by the unhappy times we live in, wherein the pestilent heresy of the Hussites has arisen, and, by God's judgment, has attained to such

¹ See Pastor, "Hist. of the Popes" (Antrobus's trans., I, 202).

great strength in so short a time".¹ He then shows that the priests are to be honoured as God's representatives on earth, as mediators between God and the people; and, though they be sinners, still they do transmit grace to others by reason of their office. They are the heads of the people "and though it be true that when the head is sick, the other members languish, still it is an incomparably worse evil for a man to have his head cut off, than to have it wounded or broken. Even so (though Hussites and heretics assert the contrary) it is better to have bad Religious and bad priests than to have none at all." Moreover, bad as they may be, the priests are to be honoured for their power. In the sacrament of Penitence, they can close and open heaven. In the Eucharist, they can consecrate the Body of the Lord, and so bring Christ down from above, which exceeds the power of devils, angels, archangels, nay even of the Blessed Virgin herself to accomplish. The sermon concludes with warnings against the evil practice of attacking from the pulpit the vices of the clergy.² Appealing to his personal experience he declares (p. 91) that such indiscreet rebuking is invariably followed by scandal. Moreover the effect of singling out the vices of the clergy for reprobation in the pulpit is, that the congregation's attention is drawn away from their own sins. If the preacher has been inveighing against sinners in general, and then puts in something which touches the clergy, that alone remains in his hearers' memory. "Nay, what is still more ridiculous, if the congregation are bored with a sermon, or suffering from heat or cold, and the preacher just utters a word against priests and prelates, or says that he is going to do so, instantly the

¹ "Opera," I, 88. In Sermon 10 "Extr." ("Opera," III, 355) he mentions Wyclif and Hus as partners of Beelzebub.

² This was expressly forbidden by the Martinian Constitutions (above, p. 66; Wadding, X, 157).

sleepers awake, the bored become cheerful . . . hunger and thirst are forgotten. And, what is worse still, the most wicked sinners are in their own sight righteous and holy, compared with the clergy." It is needless to say that the scandalous life of the clergy was a cause of grievous distress to S. Bernardino, though he did not think it well to make this a topic of discourse to mixed audiences. See, for instance, the sermon "De rectoribus et prælatis" ("Opera," IV, 145, 146) where he refers to their immorality, their unseemly behaviour, and their gross irreverence. He tells us that at Padua and Verona he addressed at the end of his course a special sermon to the clergy from which lay people were excluded (Hefele, 36).

To the same department of apologetics belongs the twenty-seventh sermon ("Opera," I, 119). The subject is, hindrances to faith. These are, first, ignorance as to the limits of the human intellect: hence persons in such ignorance will not believe what their intellect cannot grasp. Another hindrance is the subtle nature of the dogmas to which assent is required: this deters those of grosser intellect, for their mental perception is dull, and what they cannot perceive, they believe not to exist. The first hindrance therefore debars the intellectual, and the second, the stupid. A third hindrance is, absence of the spiritual faculty, or spiritual blindness. A fourth is narrowness of mind: the persons thus hindered are so enamoured of their own sect's opinions that they refuse to pay attention to what may be said to the contrary. Others are faithless through their own negligence; they make no effort to seek for God. Faith is no mere natural faculty, else it would exist everywhere and in all men; nor does it come merely of our own free will, but it is God's gift which He will bestow if it be humbly sought for. Again, men are hindered from believing by their own wilful clinging to error and shutting out

the light ; while others are hindered by self-indulgence and absorption in the pleasures of the world. Others again, and here Bernardino has the Hussites specially in view, are led astray by hatred, "for there are many" he says (p. 122) "who by reason of their hatred against the Prelates consider that they owe no obedience to man ; and, because of the Prelates' vices, indiscriminately despise all the hierarchy, and contrast their own righteousness with the defects of the clergy".

A passage in the thirty-second sermon ("Opera," I, 139) in which Bernardino discusses "*mendacia multorum Sanctorum et maxime veteris testamenti*" is also of an apologetic nature. He deals at some length with the "leading case" of Jacob's obtaining his father's blessing by a trick, and insinuates that Jacob's treachery can only be defended by putting the whole transaction on a mystical and figurative footing (herein following S. Augustin, "De Civ. Dei," XVI, 37); admitting that had the deed not been done "by prophetic inspiration and divine authority," Jacob had indeed been inexcusable : and finally he alludes to "certain who mock at pure simplicity and holy Scripture and are wont to say that we excuse whomsoever we will from falsehood and sin, and accuse whomsoever we will, not understanding that it is not out of our own mind, but rather out of the most true meaning of Scripture that we adopt and approve these solid truths and interpretations".

The two sermons on Purgatory (62, 63, "De Ev. Aet.") also fall under the heading of Apologetics, for in the first of them Bernardino declares the necessity of establishing the existence of Purgatory against some who denied it. It is manifest, he argues, that there must be such a place (which he locates under the earth and adjacent to Hell and Limbo) for how else could the souls of those who have died in grace but not yet fulfilled the temporal punishment still due for sin after the

remission of the eternal punishment through Christ, make satisfaction? And how else could they have the needful opportunity to free their will from the bondage of vicious tendencies still besetting it, and to bring it into harmony with the will of their heavenly Father? It is clear that Bernardino regarded Purgatory from Dante's point of view; I mean that he laid more stress on the reforming than on the penal aspect of it. Like Dante, he insists on the gladness with which the penitent souls accept the discipline which is to fit them for heaven. "They rejoice in those punishments," he says ("Opera," II, 415) "for that they are confirmed in grace; nor can they will evil any more, much less do it. Their affection is toward God's justice; therefore they delight in the patient endurance of God's justice in themselves."

The possibility of the remission of the pains of Purgatory by indulgence is not referred to by Bernardino. The question was still in debate, and the validity of such indulgences was not established till many years after his death.¹

We may perhaps class among the "Apologetic" sermons those in which Bernardino treats of the final doom of the impenitent.² Even in those days, as appears from a passage in 12 "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 77) a revolt against the horrors of the mediaeval hell was beginning, and the preacher therefore felt himself bound to "justify the ways of God to man" in this matter. He accordingly insists repeatedly and with sickening minuteness on the nature and torments of the damned, and on their perpetual duration. His line of defence against his opponents is briefly this:

¹ See H. C. Lea, "History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences," III, 336 ff.

² These sermons are, 14 "De Christ. Rel.," 12 and 22 "De Ev. Aet.," and 18 of the "Extraordinarii" ("Opera," III, 383).

that they ignore the fact that God's justice is as perfect as His mercy ; and that since the impenitent would, if they could, sin eternally, they must therefore be made to suffer eternally.

At the end of the third sermon "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 14), and again in sermon 23, "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 124), Bernardino briefly notices the case of a man born and brought up in a place where it is impossible for him to learn anything about the Christian faith. Bernardino holds (expressly following S. Bonaventura and Alex. of Hales) that for one in that position, such belief in God as may be had under the law of Nature suffices, at least preparatively ; and innate knowledge, with the help of Grace gives light enough for that. It is inconceivable that this help should be withheld in things necessary, and if a man so situated will do his part, the needful light will be bestowed, either by God's grace directly, or by an angelic revelation, or by a human preacher. Hence if any man be damned, he is so by his own act or negligence ; by his wilful disobedience, if he knows the Christian faith ; by his neglect to inform himself concerning it, if he does not. It is irrelevant that he may conscientiously believe erroneous doctrine, for he is bound to ascertain what the true doctrine as held by the Church is ; and if he is in perplexity, let him pray to God, who will surely succour them that call upon Him. Were conscientious ignorance a valid excuse, it would follow that there is no such thing as absolute right and wrong, and that God would be served equally well by vice as by virtue ; since the only thing that mattered would be, not what a man's actions were in themselves, but whether he thought them virtuous or vicious ; and God shall be meritoriously denied, if men believe he is to be denied (23 "De Ev. Aet." "Opera," II, 124, 125). Schismatics, however, provided always that they have endured sufferings rather than deny

Christ, may perhaps look for some mitigation of their final doom (61 "De Ev. Aet." "Opera," II, 406).

Sermons 32-45 of the course "De Evangelio Aeterno" are entirely devoted to the subjects of Property and Commerce, and indeed avowedly form a treatise on the Law of Contract. Their primary object is stated to be the guidance of confessors in difficult cases of conscience ("Opera," II, 181); and again (p. 193) Bernardino observes: "These matters should not be much preached about to the people, but are very necessary for the giving of advice and the hearing of confessions". And indeed, most of these discourses, crammed as they are with quotations from the Civil and Canon Laws and from the Schoolmen, and containing the solution of casuistical problems connected with every kind of commercial transaction, are quite unsuited to oral delivery. Accordingly the preacher who would use them in the pulpit is warned to do so with the utmost discretion.¹

These sermons merit attention as enabling us to appreciate Bernardino's learning, his knowledge of the world, and his determination, so far as he might, to bring the "Eternal Gospel of Charity" to bear on the whole extent of human life. He begins in sermon 32 by investigating the origin of property, and declares that by the law of Nature all things are common; but that when man fell, this law was necessarily repealed, since it could only prevail in a state of innocence; and so private property came into being by virtue of positive law. Positive law means law imposed by a human

¹ "Opera," II, 181. The thirty-eighth of the Siena sermons ("Pred. Volg.," III, 214) is a good example of Bernardino's own manner of handling such topics before an ordinary congregation. At Padua, where he had a learned audience, he discussed all sorts of legal problems in the pulpit ("Seraphin" sermons 28, 29, 30: "Opera," III, 231 ff.).

sovereign individual or body, and Bernardino seems to hold (like Marsilio of Padua) that this human sovereign derives his authority not from God's appointment, but from the choice and consent of his subjects ("Opera," II, 183).

In sermon 33 he discusses trade in general, and in 34 and 35, the sale and purchase of real and personal property. We may note by the way, that in giving an example of a fraudulent sale he says ("Opera," II, 206): "It is clear that it is unlawful to sell as genuine gold, gold produced by alchemy, because it is less pure and perfect; nor has it the same properties as the genuine. For it has not the property of making glad, nor the power against certain sicknesses, and the like, that the genuine has; on the contrary, it is said to be poisonous."

Sermons 36-45 are entirely taken up with usury and usurious contracts. Now it must be premised that by "usury" Bernardino, in accordance with the language of his time, understood not the exaction of oppressive interest by a lender from a borrower, but the payment of any interest at all on money lent. This was held by the Church to be forbidden: (a) by the law of God, because of the peremptory words of our Lord, *Gratis accepistis, gratis date* (Matt. x. 8), and *Mutuum date nihil inde accipientes* (Luke vi. 35); (b) by the law of Nature, because money is naturally incapable of bearing fruit, and therefore to make money breed money is to transgress the law of Nature.¹ The lending of money was accordingly treated, in theory at least, as a matter of charity, not of business; and so the more scrupulous at any rate salved their conscience not indeed by lending their money for nothing, but by decorating with the name of a "guerdon" or "present" from their debtors the interest they received on their

¹ Aristotle, "Pol.," I, 7; cf. Dante, "Inf.," XI, 97 ff.

loans.¹ The world has so long been accustomed to regard the phenomenon of interest as an ordinary incident of commerce, and as the backbone of finance, that one has some difficulty in adjusting one's vision to Bernardino's point of view. To the plea that "usury" is in fact necessary for the practical conduct of affairs, he has one conclusive reply, viz., that no temporal evil or inconvenience may be averted by a violation of God's law ("Opera," II, 258). Visionary as such a position seems to be, Bernardino had a very intimate knowledge of business transactions, derived not only from books but from frequent personal observation. He knows the most recent quotation for the Florentine Government stock;² he is familiar with the conditions under which a money-changer's business is carried on ("Opera," II, 232); he has something to say about legislation by Princes to prevent their officials from being bribed ("Opera," II, 248); he knows of the devices of covetous Religious to palliate a transaction smacking of usury, just as in sermon 23 "De Evangelio Aeterno," he displays an intimate acquaintance with the tricks of the buyers and sellers in the market-place. These things deeply interested him, it is clear, and one is the more struck by his intense horror of the love of money; so great is that horror that he even looks askance at the children's money-boxes.³ He is, of course, on safe ground when he sets forth, as in sermons 43-45 "De Evangelio Aeterno," the debasing effects produced by the grosser forms of money-lending on the usurer him-

¹ See for example the extracts from the books of a Sienese house of business, printed in Mengozzi, "Il monte dei paschi di Siena, e le aziende in esso riunite, Note storiche," vol. I, p. 12.

² 41 "De Ev. Aet." "Opera," II, 243. See Villari, "The Two First Centuries of Florentine History," 326, 327 (English translation by L. Villari).

³ 45 "De Ev. Aet." "Opera," II, 269; 7 "De Christ. Rel." "Opera," I, 29.

self, and the disastrous consequences to the borrower, and even to the community, of the widespread practice of resorting to the public money-lenders.¹ But in applying his principle with unrelenting tenacity to all the ramifications of public and private finance and commerce in Italy, at that time the financial and commercial centre of the world, he was dashing his head against a stone wall: and, while applauding what he considered as legitimate commerce,² was preaching doctrine which, if practised, would soon bring all commerce to an end. It is true that on 8 June, 1425, under the influence of his eloquence the General Council of Siena passed an Act, requiring (*inter alia*) that men should abstain from "usurious and illicit contracts"; disabling persons guilty of such practices from holding office, under heavy penalties, and invalidating their contracts. But, as might have been expected, this enactment proved a dead letter, so far as the suppression of usury was concerned; though in accordance with another of its provisions a new official (*Capitano et Esecutore di Giustizia*) charged with the duty of seeing to the "good and virtuous living" of the citizens was actually created, whose office became a very important one.³

As regards the practice, already alluded to, of dis-
guising interest under the cloak of a gift, Bernardino did permit the lender to receive a present from the borrower in addition to the repayment of his money; but great care must be taken by the confessor to ascertain that such a "present" really was a present, and not part of the consideration for the loan; for if so,

¹ Mengozzi, op. cit., I, 107, 108.

² See "Pred. Volg." III, 247, 249.

³ See Mengozzi, op. cit., I, 111-3, where the text of the material portions of the Act is printed. In 1456, twelve years after Bernardino's death, the Sienese Government applied successfully to Pope Calixtus III for leave to borrow at interest from the Jews! (*ib.* 142).

the transaction would be usurious ; and in any case the reception of a gift from the borrower had a suspicious appearance ("Opera," II, 210, 215).

As for the business of money-changing (*ars camp-soria*) it was so obviously indispensable that, though here, if ever, one might suppose that money bred money, it was, by means of subtle distinctions, held not to be usurious ("Opera," II, 231).

Of the usurious transactions denounced by Bernardino the most important were the dealings in the Government securities of Venice, Florence, and Genoa, to which he devotes a whole sermon (no. 41). In these republics the Government raised forced loans from their subjects on which they paid interest (disguised under the designation of a free gift); and a subject's claim against the Government was assignable.¹ As these loans were either not redeemed at all, or only after a very long interval, it is obvious that the transaction bore a considerable resemblance to an issue of stock by a modern Government : and it became a very serious question, in view of the large number of persons interested, whether the creditors of the Government were parties to an usurious contract, and therefore guilty of mortal sin. Bernardino held ("Opera," II, 237) that the circumstance that the loan was forced exonerated the lender from the guilt of usury, and that he might therefore receive the interest without scruple. But an assignee of his claim would be guilty of usury, since the transaction was voluntary as to him ; and so, of course, would persons spontaneously lending money to the Government on the terms, or even in the expectation, that interest would be paid them, and persons to whom

¹ A similar system had been established at Siena in 1369, but was in abeyance when these sermons were written (1428). It was revived in 1430 in spite of the enactment against usury passed in 1425 (see above, p. 259, and Mengozzi, op. cit., I, 63, 65, 116 ff.).

such voluntary creditors had sold their claims. These voluntary loans were especially prevalent at Venice, where the higher credit of that Republic induced important personages to lend to its Government at interest ("Opera," II, 237). In denouncing such transactions as sinful, Bernardino was therefore treading on delicate ground, and was moreover attacking a firmly established practice; and he notes with surprise that the people had listened patiently to him when he had been preaching to them on this matter. They did not always so listen to him, however. A special form of voluntary loan was established at Florence in 1425, enabling persons to make provision for the marriage of their children by lending to the State money which at the end of fifteen years was to be repaid, with interest, in the form of a dowry on the child's marriage. If the child died before the end of the period, the principal and interest lapsed to the State.¹ This, besides being an usurious contract was also in the nature of a gambling transaction, and was fiercely denounced by Bernardino. It was on this occasion that Manetti accosted him as stated above (p. 241). In the end, it seems, Bernardino satisfied all Manetti's objections; and in consequence of the multitudes who thereupon consulted him as to the restitution of ill-gotten gains, he wrote "the book 'De Restitutione,'"² by which our informant seems to mean sermons 33-40, "De Christ. Rel." (*Opera*, I, 142 ff.); though his description might be applied with equal propriety to the sermons we have now been considering.

In one case, and in one case only, was the exaction of interest allowed, namely, from "God's enemies". "Temporal goods," says Bernardino ("Opera," II, 254), "are given to men for the worship of the true God

¹ See Mengozzi, op. cit., 104, n. 1; 105, n. 1.

² Vespasiano da Bisticci's "Life of S. Bernardino" ("Pred. Volg." I, xxv.).

and Lord of the universe. Where, therefore, the worship of God does not exist, as in the case of God's enemies, usury is lawfully exacted, because this is not done for the sake of the gain, but for the sake of the Faith; and the motive is brotherly love, namely, that God's enemies may be weakened, and so return to Him; and further because the goods they have do not belong to them, since they are rebels against the true faith; they shall therefore devolve upon the Catholics."

Before passing from this subject we may recall a traditional story that once, while Bernardino was preaching at Milan, a merchant of that city often came to him, begging him to preach without respect of persons against the vice of usury, which was very common there. Bernardino made inquiries about his visitor, and found that he was the principal usurer in the place, who hoped that through the power of the friar's preaching all his rivals would shut up shop and leave him with a monopoly of the business.¹

The five sermons "De Inspirationibus" ("Opera," III, 119 ff.), are among the ripest and most spiritual of Bernardino's utterances. They were intended for the edification of his own friars, and seem to have been written at their request; for he speaks of himself as "*instantia precum multorum devotorum devinctus*" ("Opera," III, 119). Accordingly in addressing men who had vowed to give up all and follow Christ, he takes a higher tone than when addressing the multitude in the market-place; and in so doing enables us to appreciate something of his own profound humility and of the holiness to which that humility had exalted him. At the same time he explores with unfailing acuteness and common-sense, the special temptations of the Religious life. The maturity to which I have alluded is shown, for example, by comparing his exultation in the

¹ Donati in "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria," I, 53.

nineteenth of the Siena sermons ("Pred. Volg.," II, 112), over the absurd and disgusting exhibition of 5000 people scourging themselves at Crema with chains of iron till the blood gushed out upon them, with the calm sobriety of the following words penned at least twelve years later : "The ignorant and inexperienced in the way of the Spirit, and as a rule all lay-folk are frequently edified by the sight of chastisement, and of things that torture and afflict ; for instance, by Christian penance, fastings, and the like, even though they be performed without discretion ; and, contrariwise, are scandalized by things that give pleasure, even though sometimes such things be not even venial sins" (3 "De Insp.," "Opera," III, 137). The conclusion of the same sermon also shows his increased sobriety of view. After saying that the prayer of a whole people when in great perplexity and not knowing what to do, is very effectual, as he has himself often found in his preachings throughout Italy, still he concludes with the reminder that "a hasty resolution is often followed by regret ; for time brings about much that neither man's will, nor skill, nor power can accomplish. . . . For God chooses sometimes to make us clear about what we are to do, not by an angel nor by any other means than by means of time, especially if we persevere in prayer" (p. 139). Contrast his impatience and impetuosity at Siena in 1427, when he was disappointed that a sermon he had preached two years before had not stamped out unnatural vice from among the people ("Pred. Volg.," III, 270 : cf. below, p. 298).

The second of these sermons, on discretion in inspirations, is one of the most interesting and characteristic of all Bernardino's sermons. In Art. I he discusses such "inspirations" (suggestions, or promptings, as we might say) as point to toil and discomfort. In order that such inspirations may be holy they must fulfil the following conditions. First, the principal object of the

toil or discomfort must not be the advantage or temporal enjoyment of oneself or of others. Bernardino here touches on the principle of the Spiritual Harvest in much the same way as Robertson of Brighton in his sermon on the same subject.¹ "Thus it appears," says Bernardino ("Opera," III, 127), "that all the toil and distress undergone from worldly motives by merchants, craftsmen and peasants; by parents for their children's sake; by servants for their masters, and by friends for their worldly friends, are destitute of spiritual desert, or may even be termed undeserving, according to the spirit in which they are undertaken. Though if the toiler's intention is directed in a worldly way to temporal things he does sometimes, though not always, receive a reward; but not an eternal one, and of such the Lord saith, 'Verily I say unto you, they have received their reward'." "The mistakes men make," says Robertson (op. cit., p. 236) . . . "are these: they sow for earth and expect to win spiritual blessings; or they sow to the spirit, and then wonder that they have not a harvest of the good things of earth. . . . The 'flesh' includes all the desires of our unrenewed nature, the harmless as well as the sinful. Any labour, therefore, which is bounded by present well-being is sowing to the flesh." And a little farther on (op. cit., p. 244), speaking of the children of this world, wise in their generation, "Now we do not say that these men are absolutely wicked. All we say is, there is 'corruption' written on their harvest. . . . It may be the labour of the statesman . . . or that of the astronomer . . . dealing with things above earth in space, but unspiritual still; or that of a humble laboriousness whose work is merely to provide for a family . . . objects more or less harmless, all. . . . But they end. The sowers for earth *have* their harvest here."

¹ "Sermons by F. W. Robertson," Series I, No. 14 (ed. 1856).

Secondly, the toil and effort must be such as the body can stand ; for, since the body has been created by God, though it must be brought under the yoke of reason, yet should it not be brought to naught and killed by asceticism. We must repress the flesh, so that it may be our servant and not our master, but not oppress it. Excessive asceticism leads to spiritual pride and rebellion, the besetting sins of the Zealot Franciscans of old, and Bernardino, mindful no doubt of the trouble these sins had wrought in the Order in the past, and having noticed the tendency of the more youthful and ardent friars of the Strict Observance to fall into them, here gives solemn warnings against such wilfulness.

Thirdly, the toil and affliction must be such as the soul can stand : the discreet and sensible man will gauge his spiritual strength ; it is presumptuous for some, impelled it may be by the self-will of remorse for terrible sins, to enter the cloister ; for others, to expose themselves to the fearful perils of life in the world. Some, he adds, there are, so presumptuous as to try to work miracles, tempting the Lord, and thinking themselves in some sort equal to God Who alone can work miracles. Others, with apparent charity and zeal for souls, but utterly ignorant, undertake to hear confessions, to preach and to take charge of parishes. Others again, to try their strength, recklessly expose themselves to temptation.¹

Fourthly, an inspiration should be attended to if the toil and affliction are not only endurable by the body and the soul, but are reasonable in themselves. As an instance of a transgression of this rule he tells the story of a hermit of the March of Ancona who persuaded a multitude of men and women to go stark naked to the

¹ *Quædam mulier non est diu, a diabolo instigata ut pugnaret contra tentationem carnis, hac intentione cum juvene lectum ingressa est : transeo si perdidit pugnam.* "Opera," III, 129.

sea, which was to open before them, so that they might travel dryshod to the land of promise.¹

In Art. II, he discusses the case of inspirations which are holy and give pleasure; and these, though not tending to toil and affliction, are to be acted on under the following conditions: first, if the natural pleasure involved is less than the spiritual pleasure; e.g. if a man is fasting with great fervour, though he may naturally prefer a fasting diet of leeks and onions to a non-fasting diet of partridges and peacocks, he should not give up his inspiration to fast, provided always that the spiritual pleasure he gets by fasting be greater than his natural pleasure in eating leeks and onions rather than partridges and peacocks.

Secondly if the pleasure be spiritual only. The preacher here particularly refers to the powers of prediction, revelations, visions, raptures and ecstasies which are so common in mediæval hagiography and were so greatly coveted by the religious world in those days; and in doing so, he anxiously points out the danger that lurks in religious sentimentality. Such graces, he says ("Opera," III, 131) are not virtues, nor meritorious in themselves, yet they may become meritorious if gratefully received and humbly used; for such graces are given as aids to virtue, so that it may be able to bear hard work. It is indeed a great grace of God to have fine feelings about the deep things of the Creator and His creation. Yet let none glory in such feelings, for they are often imparted to those that are in mortal guilt.

And, after he has given various tests to ascertain whether such pleasures be really spiritual, comes the stern conclusion: "If the spiritual nature of the delight is not most clearly and evidently attested in actual experience and result by these twelve signs and evidences, let it be mistrusted as an incarnate devil".

¹ "Opera," III, 129. The same event is related in "Pred. Volg.," II, 374, where see note 4. It occurred in 1412.

Thirdly, if the spiritual pleasure results in the greater humbling of the soul. And here we may see how thoroughly Bernardino understood the dangers of the contemplative life. "There are many," he says ("Opera," III, 132) "who in true faith long and seek for visions and revelations which are supernatural and above the trivial round of those who love and serve God; but they do not understand that it is almost impossible to seek and long for such things without being rooted in pride, without being founded on presumption, and without being tempted by vain curiosity about the secrets of God."

Fourthly, the inspiration may be accepted, provided that the spiritual delight be accompanied by a strengthening of the character as regards faith and conduct.

Bernardino was as well aware as anyone of the strange connexion which exists between mysticism and sensuality,¹ and solemnly warns his friars against this peril of the contemplative life. "Dearest brother who readest this, take diligent heed that in thy prayer and contemplation thou find no other comfort than that which flows from knowledge of thyself and an entire sense of thine own nothingness and imperfection; aye, and on deep abasement of thyself through profound awe of the greatness and loftiness of God; and great longing for His glory and honour, not for thine own" ("Opera," III, 133). Then he states in plain words the particulars of the carnal sensations enjoyed in their solitary visions by the morbid recluses he has in mind. Such visions, he adds, are a most grave form of blasphemy, for that the true visitations of the Holy Ghost, Who strives with all His might against carnal allurements, aim above all at the repression of all such feelings. And then, plainly intimating, I think, the state he himself aspired to, he says (*ib.*): "Yet there might be in some soul such perfection that it would long to be

¹ See Heywood, "A Pictoral Chronicle of Siena," 54, 55; and "The Ensamples of Fra Filippo," 238, 239.

deprived of all spiritual consolations, and that in order to be nailed with Christ to the cross".

The Sermons on the Beatitudes ("Opera," III, 1-68) are among the latest of S. Bernardino's writings. The second sermon, on the text "Blessed are the poor in spirit," etc., is specially interesting, as it is an eulogium on Poverty by one who had now enjoyed her embraces for some forty years. It shows us how enthusiastically Bernardino had aspired to S. Francis's ideal, and at the same time how far removed he was from the narrow fanaticism of the earlier Zealots: in other words, how completely the Observants had succeeded in winning their way back to the path trodden by their Founder. He begins ("Opera," III, 24) by laying down the principle that it is not poverty, but the love of poverty, that deserves the name of a virtue; that is to say, it is the detachment of the heart from earthly things that is the essential point. Hence the rich in this world's goods may share in the blessedness of this virtue if only they set not their heart on their possessions; so that, deeming them worthless, they may regard the total loss of them with indifference. And in this way he declares that the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, for all their wealth, were poor in worldly goods. Yet is the actual forsaking of all for Christ a more excellent way; and then he breaks out into an exulting recital of the tale of the voluntary poor man's blessings. Such a poor man, he says, suffers not at the loss of anything, for he possesses nothing that he loves with an imperfect (*vitosus*) love; he cannot feel hatred towards any one that despoils him, nor sorrow for anything he has lost; he is at peace with all, his soul is at rest, his conscience is joyful, he is free in his actions, there is no earthly object to which his prayer need sink, it is not hampered by any anxiety, there is no burden to check its free flight. This kind of poor man has claimed for his own all

earthly things in whosesoever possession they might be, since he who claims for himself no private property in anything can demand the necessities of life from all men.

As for that poverty which, being involuntary, has neither merit nor demerit, he exhorts its victims to make of necessity a virtue, and, by their glad acceptance of misfortune, to turn their involuntary poverty into that higher poverty which is so richly blessed. Then, referring to yet another kind of poverty, that which is hypocritically assumed, he addresses a short but earnest rebuke to those who were bringing the Religious life into discredit. Farther on in the sermon he declares that even now the kingdom of Heaven is given to those that have embraced voluntary poverty, by reason of their imitation of the Son of God ; and then with loving prolixity he amplifies the famous description of Poverty the Bride of Christ given by Dante in "Par.," XI, 64-72.¹

In the Sermon on the Fifth Beatitude he gives a wonderful description of the merciful man ("Opera," III, 43) : "He who is perfectly merciful himself feels the woes of all men, and bears them in his heart as though they were his own. He weeps over the sins of all men as his own, he is unceasingly wishing for all, all fullness of grace ; he supports all, so far as he can ; he also helps all, shares everything with them, rejoices in the good things of all as if they were his own. He reviles no one, circumvents no one, desires no temporal thing unduly ; nay, rather he ever pours himself out in every kind of liberality. He looks upon all men as a father and a mother look upon their children."

In an equally comprehensive way Bernardino in his Sermon on the Eighth Beatitude ("Opera" III, 58, 59) extends the enduring of persecution for righteousness'

¹ See above, p. 233.

sake to the suffering which is caused to a true worshipper of God by anything that offends His majesty ; and to the following of voluntary poverty, which he declares to be a kind of martyrdom, referring to Giotto's famous painting over the high altar in the lower church of S. Francis at Assisi, in which the Lady Poverty is depicted in garments rent by thorns, as symbolizing the persecutions her followers must undergo.

Some other sermons may here be noticed. In the Sermon on S. Joseph ("Opera," IV, 231), Bernardino, after stating his belief in S. Joseph's perpetual virginity, speaks at length of the high privilege granted him in being chosen for the husband of the Blessed Virgin and the nursing father of our Redeemer, and of the personal holiness presupposed by this choice. He notes that the Church has not decreed any great solemnity in S. Joseph's honour, first because he went down into Limbo and belongs to the Old Testament ; and, secondly, to avoid giving any countenance to the heresy that he was the actual and not the putative father of our Lord. Finally, Bernardino expresses his belief that Joseph died before the Passion, and that he was one of those Saints who participated in Christ's resurrection (see Matt., xxvii. 52, 53) ; and who are already with their bodies in heaven ("Opera," IV, 235).

A sermon for use on S. Mary Magdalen's Day ("Opera," IV, 236) is evidently an early composition (see Appendix II, p. 354), and it is therefore remarkable to find the concluding section of this sermon ("Opera," IV, 240) incorporated almost word for word into the sermon on the seventh Beatitude ("Opera," III, 54, 55), which, as we have seen, is among the latest of our Saint's compositions. The artificial working out of the simile of the lily and its petals in the earlier sermon, is, however, significantly discarded in the later.

The sermon "De Stigmatibus B. Francisci" ("Opera,"

IV, 241), is an elaborate panegyric of S. Francis. In most of his references to the events of S. Francis's life he relies, as one would expect, on the official biography by S. Bonaventura. Once, however, in relating an incident belonging to the time of S. Francis's conversion not recorded by S. Bonaventura, he quotes the "Legenda Trium Sociorum" ("Opera," IV, 244). The most interesting passage in the sermon is one in which Bernardino refers to the opinion that the stigmata might have been produced by what would now be called auto-suggestion. He notes the powerful action of the mind upon the body, and observes that S. Francis's continual meditation on the Passion would be a predisposing cause of such an effect as the appearance of the stigmata. But he adds that he will not say that such was the cause, since that error is reprobated by the Church and confuted by true reason; for, though a vehement action of the mind might produce changes in the fluid or softer parts of the body, no such action, however powerful, could effect the changes which the stigmatization produced in the hard and bony parts; referring to S. Augustin, "De Trinitate," XI ("Opera S. Augustini," III, 147: ed. Paris, 1635). Bernardino's account of the stigmata resembles that in the "Fioretti" (p. 118, ed. Cesari) and is manifestly derived from some later source than S. Bonaventura's account, which already betrays the addition of legendary details.¹

There are numerous other references to S. Francis in Bernardino's sermons. The humility of his final aspiration, that he might at length begin to do some good (see I Celano, 103) had evidently made a deep impression on S. Bernardino, for he speaks of it three times.² The Franciscan greeting is referred to

¹ See Joseph Merkt, "Die Wundmale des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi," pp. 54-7. (Leipzig, 1910).

² 5 "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 32); 6 "Eximii" ("Opera,"

in "Pred. Volg.," III, 378. The incident of the cauterization (see 2 Celano, 166) is referred to in 56 "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 373). In "Pred. Volg.," III, 459, he alludes to the talismanic writing given by S. Francis to Brother Leo.¹ On the same page we read of a friar who died in S. Francis's arms; and Bernardino adds the wish that it might have been himself. In the sermon on Prayer ("Opera," IV, 151) Bernardino says: "We read concerning S. Francis, that an angel said to him: 'Thou hast such influence with the heavenly Court, that no one is there listened to but thee!'" In 23 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 216) he quotes S. Francis, calling coins "flies," and explains the appropriateness of the metaphor. At the beginning of 26 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 225), Bernardino tells the following story: "Once when S. Francis was passing through some city, and a demoniac was walking behind him, one of the citizens asked S. Francis: 'What is the greatest sin in the world?' 'Murder,' replied the Saint. Then the demoniac behind him laughed and said: 'There's a worse sin than murder!' 'By the power of God,' said S. Francis, 'tell me what that sin is, that is worse than murder?' Then the devil answered: 'Keeping other people's property is worse than murder, for more sinners go to hell for that than for anything else'." In 10 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 182) we read that once in winter a rich man, shivering under all his wraps, asked S. Francis, in his scanty garment, whether he did not feel cold. Francis replied that he was so hot that he was sweating; and the rich man, on touching his hand,

IV, 35); 13 "De Tempore" ("Opera," IV, 184). Cf. Bernardino's own answer to one who questioned him as to the result of his thirty years' study of divinity: "I seem to understand less about it now than ever" (Maffeo Vegio in Wadding, X, 12).

¹ See 2 Celano, 49.

felt the heat diffused all over himself. And this, adds Bernardino, is what exceeding love does: for as too much food causes vomiting, so exceeding love makes one vomit forth words of God. Several sayings of S. Francis are also quoted by Bernardino: "Blessed Francis used to say that he who rejoices over another's good things as if they were his own, delights in those good things without risk or toil, and with great merit" (*Sermon on Fifth Beatitude, "Opera," III, 44*). "S. Francis used to say that he got more pleasure out of the kingdom of France than did the King of France, for *he* rejoiced that the King should get pleasure out of his kingdom; and he had an advantage over the King, for the King had all the toil and expense of his kingdom, while he had the joy without the toil and expense" (3 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 162). "The poorer a man is," said S. Francis, "the more generous he can be if he chooses. For the will is reckoned to him for the deed in respect of all whom he pities; and if he had the means he would help in deed also" (4 "De Ev. Aet.," "Opera," II, 27). And on the next page, Bernardino, after observing that we are more inclined to pity those who are naturally or spiritually akin to us than we are inclined to pity others not so akin, goes on to say: "And this is that feeling of pity wherewith some saints are said to have felt pity even for irrational creatures, like S. Francis for lambs, sheep, birds, and even also for things insensible, acknowledging that these creatures emanated from the same principle with himself; and hence he compassionated and honoured them, or rather God in them, Who is the common principle of all creatures".

The fervour of S. Bernardino's devotion to the Blessed Virgin was hardly exceeded by any mediæval saint and is recorded as well in the thirteen sermons for her festivals ("Opera," IV, 71 ff.) as in numerous pas-

sages in his other writings. As regards the doctrinal as distinguished from the devotional point of view, the office of the Virgin in the scheme of human redemption is concisely set forth in 10 "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 54) as follows : "Of all the graces that descend to man, even as God is the general Giver, and Christ the general Mediator, so they are generally dispensed through the glorious Virgin. For she is the neck of our Head, through which all spiritual gifts are communicated to His mystical body. Accordingly, it is said of Him in Canticles VII, 'Thy neck is as an ivory tower'."

Concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, Bernardino, expressly declining to mix himself up in the "scholastic wars" waged on this question, formulates his own opinion as follows : After referring to the sanctification of the faithful in general wrought by the sacraments, and to the special sanctification bestowed on Jeremiah and S. John Baptist, and on the Apostles at Pentecost, he says : "*Tertia vero fuit sanctificatio maternalis; et hæc removet culpam originalem et confert gratiam; et hæc etiam removet pronitatem ad peccandum tam venialiter quam mortaliter.* Et *hæc fuit in B. Virgine Maria matre Dei. Sane Deus ipse æternus sicut mira sua sapientia creavit omnia, sic illam benedictam matrem suam talem condidit et sanctificavit in tempore qualem eam sanctam elegit in sua æternitate*" ("Opera," IV, 83).

We pass now to the Reported Sermons, which enable us to judge of Bernardino's style in the pulpit. Of these sermons two courses have been printed, namely, that preached at Padua in 1423 and that preached at Siena in 1427. Before giving specimens from these two courses, something must be said about each one of them separately.

The Paduan sermons include the Lenten course entitled "Seraphin" together with thirteen of the

sermons by which that course was preceded and followed ("Serm. Extr." 1-13, "Opera," III, 321-68). Some of the latter are missing, e.g. one on Baptism and one on S. Antony of Padua, respectively referred to in Bernardino's farewell sermon ("Opera," III, p. 361) and in the reporter's note on the following page. The preaching probably began on Septuagesima Sunday, for we have the sermon preached on the Purification, which fell in that year on the Tuesday after Septuagesima ("Opera," III, 341). Our report of the Paduan sermons is by a Paduan jurisconsult Daniele de' Pulzegli¹ and is a Latin expansion of the notes he took during the preaching. How trustworthy he is may be gathered by comparing the Paduan sermon on Widowhood ("Opera," III, 343) with the Siena sermon on the same subject ("Pred. Volg.," II, 173). The latter is practically identical with the former, but, as we shall see, is reported verbatim. Sometimes, however, Daniele's report is very much condensed, and occasionally a whole division of a sermon is compressed into a few lines, e.g. the third principal part of no. 38 "Seraphin".

The sermons were preached in the open air, and in his farewell discourse ("Opera," III, 361) Bernardino thankfully noted that once only had he been interrupted by rain.² The audiences were enormous, and our reporter says that at one sermon more than 20,000 hearers were present. Besides D. de' Pulzegli, other reporters seem to have attended, for in sermon 44 ("Opera," III, 297) the preacher bids them take careful notes (*Notetis bene, vos qui scribitis*); and A. de' Bigli twice speaks of Bernardino's referring afterwards at Bologna to the

¹ Otherwise da Porciglia. He calls himself *De Purgiliis* in his report of the forty-eighth "Seraphin" sermon ("Opera," III, 316).

² This was when he had preached on Lust. The sermon is in fact divided into two ("Serm. Extr.," No. 12, 13, "Opera," III, 363 ff.) and was probably preached on successive days.

reporters who had attended his preaching at Padua ("De institutis," etc., ff. 81 r, 85 r). When he preached in the morning, people used to secure their places overnight (A.B., XXV, 313). Among the congregation were regularly to be found the chief magistrates and officials of the city, and the doctors and students of the university ("Opera," III, 361). To the latter, one admirable sermon was specially addressed.¹ The genuineness of the sermon "De expugnatione Paradisi" ("Opera," III, 326) has been called in question,² but, as it seems to me, without sufficient reason. It is quite in Bernardino's characteristic manner; and he had announced in his Easter Day sermon (46 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 306) that he would preach on the next Sunday about that very thing. "*Vos omnes venietis*" (he says) "*dominica proxima futura armati sagittis, machinis et bombardis, quia volo quod sagittemus illa die paradisum,*" etc. Moreover the same rather whimsical theme is treated in sermon 60 "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 312), but with some differences and in much greater detail; the relation between the two sermons is in fact that which subsists in general between Bernardino's Reported and his Written Sermons.

The "Seraphin" course as preached at Padua in 1423 stands, in reference to the development of Bernardino's style of preaching, intermediate between the early sermons "De pugna spirituali" and those of his full maturity, to which he was rapidly advancing. As in these, so in the "Seraphin," he takes the whole of human life for his theme; but he still for the most part finds his discourses on the Gospel for the day, and sometimes includes an exposition of the Gospel in his sermons (e.g. Sermons 1, 2, 3).³ In this respect Sermon 36 (on

¹ "Extr.," 9 ("Opera," III, 347). ² Ronzoni, 33, n. 1.

³ In 1425 his practice was still the same (see Hefele, 121-4); but in 1427 his sermons were wholly independent of the liturgy.

the Annunciation) is interesting, for it includes an exposition of the Gospel ; but the text is from Psalm LXXXIV. Moreover he hampers himself by the choice of a curiously artificial and antiquated scheme for the whole course. The nominal subject of it is Love ; which is represented as a Seraphin (whence the name of the course) wearing on his head four jewels, and on his feet three ; and having six wings, each containing seven feathers. Every one of these jewels and feathers stands for a different kind of love ; and the enumeration of the items sometimes borders on the ludicrous : thus we have *Amor putridus* or *foetens* (Sermon 30 : subject, restitution of usurious gains ; text *Jam foetet, quatriduanus est*) and *Amor non conventuatus* (Sermon 27 : subject, just and unjust judgments). The former is the seventh and the latter the third feather of the fourth wing of the Seraph "the which wing is called *Amor acutus*".¹

Truly this was an attempt to put new wine into old bottles, and it caused our Saint great embarrassment, as appears from a note by the reporter in Sermon 19 ("Opera," III, 202). The note is not very clearly expressed, but I gather from it that Bernardino having arranged in accordance with his scheme to preach on marriage on the Saturday after the third Sunday in Lent, considered it desirable to preach a second sermon on the same subject on that Sunday also ; and, the Gospel for the day (the casting out of the dumb devil in

¹ Ronzoni points out (p. 50) that the three jewels of the head (*Amor altus, longus, latus*) were suggested to Bernardino by a canzone of Jacopone of which the opening lines are quoted at the beginning of the first "Seraphin" sermon :—

"Amor alto di speranza
Sopra il ciel passando
Amor lungo e fedele
In eterno durante,
Amplo in carità,
Ogni cosa abbracciante".

Luke xi.) proving intractable, he has to bring marriage into it almost by force.¹

He soon broke away from these fetters, and by 1427 we find him taking the two words *Timete Deum* (pregnant words certainly), as the text for no less than seven sermons on various subjects.²

As an example of the progressive development of Bernardino's style of preaching nothing could be better than a comparison of the three sermons on the story of the Woman of Samaria (Gospel for the Friday after third Sunday in Lent) in the courses "De pugna spirituali" (No. 24, "Opera," III, 94), "Seraphin" (No. 24, "Opera," III, 217), and "De Evangelio Aeterno" (No. 31, "Opera," II, 175). In the first, the preacher is shackled by the general scheme of his course,³ and accordingly the first division of the sermon sets forth the qualities required in the Captain of a city, and shows how they hold good in respect of Christ, the Captain of the Church. The second part, unconnected with the first, is a rather frigid and conventional exposition of the Gospel : e.g. the woman = human nature, the five husbands = the five senses, etc. etc. In the "Seraphin" sermon the duality of subject is got rid of, and, in accordance with the general scheme of the course, the theme is *Amor inflammatus*; and from the narrative is elicited an explanation of God's dealing with the human soul. In the first part, God's approach to the soul is dwelt on ; in the second, His kindling of the love of Himself in the soul ; in the third, the soul's response. The allegorical meaning is drawn out much more naturally than before, though the strained interpretation of the five husbands noticed in the former sermon is still adopted.

¹ The reporter has combined the two sermons into one, as he tells us himself (*ib.*).

² Nos. 33-9 of the "Prediche Volgari".

³ Above, p. 246.

In the very fine sermon on the same subject in the "De Evangelio Aeterno" course we see the preacher nearing his maturity. The narrative is made to yield its full spiritual value ; the sacred text is expounded in such a way as really to throw light upon it, and forced allegories are discarded ; e.g. the passage about the five husbands is now discussed merely from the literal point of view.

Bernardino found his Paduan hearers unusually sympathetic, as he told them himself ; and he used before them a greater freedom of speech than he allowed himself elsewhere.¹ There are, for example, several passages in which he rebukes the prevalent vices of the clergy ;² though he afterwards gave up this practice, and, as we have seen, strongly deprecated it.³ Other instances of this freedom of speech may perhaps be found in a statement (which might easily be misunderstood) as to the bodies of the Blessed being in Paradise (Sermon 16, "Opera," III, 196) ; a statement in Sermon 47 that God has become more merciful since the Incarnation than before ("Opera," III, 311) ; and the mention of a special appearance of our Lord to His mother after His resurrection.⁴

In the "De Christiana Religione" are references to a course of sermons variously described as "Quadragesimale de Seraphin," "Seraphin," "Quadragesimale de Amore," "Tractatus de Seraphin," "Liber de Charitate seu de Seraphin".⁵ These references do not cor-

¹ Serm. "Extr." No. 11, "Opera," III, 361.

² In Serm. 43 ("Opera," III, 293, 294) and especially Serm. "Extr." 10 ("Opera," III, 352-6.) In an earlier sermon (No. 14, "Opera," III, 190) he had expressly refrained from speaking of this matter. There is also one sermon of the "De pugna spirituali" course in which he rebukes the clergy ("Opera," III, 83, 84).

³ See above, pp. 251-2.

⁴ Serm. 46 ("Opera," III, 307). Cf. Serm. 52, "De Christ. Rel. ("Opera," I, 278).

⁵ 25, "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 112, 113); 31, "De Christ.

respond, or correspond imperfectly, with passages in the "Seraphin" as reported by D. de' Pulzegli : it appears moreover from the references that the sermons referred to were divided into "*articuli*" and "*capita*" in the manner of most of the written sermons of S. Bernardino that we possess ; and not merely into *partes principales* as the Paduan "Seraphin" sermons are. It is therefore likely that the references in question are to the "Seraphin" course *as written out by S. Bernardino*, which has not yet been found.

Of the forty-five sermons preached at Siena in 1427, on consecutive days, beginning on 15 August, we are fortunate in possessing what is practically a verbatim report. This we owe to a pious citizen of Siena, Benedetto di Maestro Bartolommeo, a shearmen by trade, who took the sermons down in shorthand on wax tablets during delivery, and afterwards wrote them out in long hand.¹ There are occasional mistakes, of course, and sometimes the preacher's vehemence was such that Benedetto could not keep pace with him ; for instance, in the twelfth sermon ("Pred. Volg.", I, 292), where Bernardino is speaking of the armies of the condottieri, the executioners of God's judgments. Several times the preacher addresses himself directly to the reporter, e.g. in the thirty-ninth sermon (III, 257) where he is anxious to have a quotation from S. Jerome taken down correctly. From Benedetto's report we can very well picture the scene in the magnificent Piazza del Campo

Rel." ("Opera," I, 135) ; 32, "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 141) ; 60, "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 313). Similar references occur in Serm. 6 of the "Eximii" ("Opera," IV, 33, 35).

¹ Shorthand reporting was not uncommon at this time. See Burckhardt, "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy" (Middlemore's trans.), p. 241. Benedetto's tablets and his MS. are no longer in existence. Full information as to the extant MSS. (the earliest of which dates from 1443) will be found in "Pred. Volg.", xiv-xvi.



PIAZZA DEL CAMPO, SIENA

where the sermons were preached by Friar Bernardino ; a spare, ascetic figure, but full of fire and energy, as he stood in his patched and shabby tunic in a wooden pulpit erected in front of the Palazzo Pubblico. The preaching took place very early in the morning, in order, no doubt, to catch as many of the citizens as possible before the business of the day began ; and Bernardino advised the women to get their household duties over before coming to the sermon, rising at sunrise for the purpose and having bought their meat over night (I, 100). This early rising seems, however, to have produced a good deal of sleepiness among the congregation, if we may judge by the frequent rebukes addressed to them, e.g. "Come, woman, don't go to sleep ! are these matters to be slept over ?" (III, 413).

The Priors (the chief magistrates of the city) were present, at any rate sometimes.¹ The women sat on the preacher's right, the men on his left, divided from one another by a low canvas partition,² which was, however, insufficient to prevent the men from ogling the women, as appears from a sharp rebuke interjected by Bernardino in one of the sermons.³ In the eighteenth sermon he mentions that he had asked leave for the unfortunate imprisoned debtors to attend the preaching (II, 60). The sermon was preceded by a celebration of Mass, and Bernardino had to rebuke the irreverence of the

¹ On one occasion S. Bernardino preached a special sermon to them in the Palazzo Pubblico on their duties as magistrates ("Pred. Volg.", I, 296, 333; III, 420). The 44th sermon was preached in the Piazza di S. Francesco ("Pred. Volg.", III, 372).

² See above, ch. II. p. 170.

³ I, 377. Bernardino is said to have been the first to introduce in modern times the separation of the sexes in public worship (Alessio, 141). On some other occasion when preaching at Siena, a young man persisted in sitting with the women in spite of Bernardino's stern rebuke. "I fear you will come to a bad end," said the preacher, when all his remonstrances were unavailing. That same year the young man was beheaded at Ancona (AA. SS., Maii IV, 771).

women, whose loud chattering disturbed the solemnity of the service (II, 109). This open-air preaching was, of course, subject to disconcerting interruptions: as thus (he has been speaking of a man's progress in spiritual things): "Then he set himself to think of the things above, and then began to perceive these spiritual matters and understand them. What joy do I myself sometimes feel in my preaching! What do you think is the reason that I sometimes say—— *Drive away that dog!!*" (III, 427). Another day he had to interrupt himself to stop a game of ball that was going on in the piazza (III, 136); and yet again as he was beginning his twenty-fifth sermon he had to call out to stop some people chaffering at the fountain in the piazza and disturbing him by their noise.

He used a good deal of gesticulation, and in particular, as A. de' Bigli informs us, adopted certain singularities of tone and gesture in naming the Name of Jesus.¹

The following are good specimens of the simple teaching that formed the staple of his discourses: "If you do some good thing, even a small thing in its way, and you do it with love and charity, God is very much pleased with it; for though it be a small thing, He values it highly. But then He wants you by degrees to grow, and to rise from good to better. I have seen a man (and you have seen him too) who lived a godly life, and yet was always saying: 'When shall we begin to do some little good?' And he was always doing some good thing; and every time he would say: 'I

¹ *Nisi forsan dicis ferventiores ex hujus nominis sensu mentibus fidelium devotionem excitari, presertim tum ipsi quoque in pronuntiando hoc nomine voce, capite, humeris totiusque corporis gestu nescio quid singulare additis quo vulgo apparere possit mire hoc nomen cordibus ac labiis nostris dulcescere* ("De Institutis," etc., MS. cited, f. 92 v). Cf. I Celano, 87.

want to begin to do some little good'; and though indeed he did it, still he never seemed satisfied. And I saw his soul arrive at such a point—oh, oh, oh!—I say, at such a point that it was a wonder. And so I say that one who suddenly begins with very great fervour to live well, and sets about all kinds of great deeds for Christ's sake—and another begins to live well, growing gradually from good to better; I have more faith in the one who goes on little by little, step by step, from good to better than in the other, who arrived by a jump at all kinds of great achievements" ("Pred. Volg.", I, 336).

[He is speaking on the words:¹ "Jesus raised His eyes to heaven and said, Father, I thank Thee for that Thou hast heard Me," etc.] "By this action Christ our Master teaches us how in prayer we ought to use gestures by which the mind may be moved, and uplifted, as we raise our eyes above, and join our hands, and bend our knees, using outward actions. Not that these outward signs make our prayer more effectual with God, for God is a searcher of hearts and He is not moved by outward signs. But these actions are done, or ought to be done, so that you may know that body and soul are to be united in prayer: for through the outward actions the body is conformed to the soul; and also to show that you, on your side, ought to help yourself to the utmost of your power; and then God will help you too. For He inspires you, and you ought to recognize His inspirations, and help yourself by following them; and you ought not to pray for yourself only, but for others also" (31, "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 245).

The next two passages show Bernardino's vivid descriptive power:—

[He is speaking on the words addressed to the Angel in Rev. xiv. 15: "Put in thy sickle and reap".] "And still the Angel tarried, because he was waiting for

¹ John xi. 41.

the conversion of the people. But when he has waited as long as he thinks fit, take care, take care, take good care, Siena, for then he will sweep his sickle round. Do you know why the angel is not reaping in Siena yet? For no other reason than that he is considering, so as to make you take heed. Have you not seen what a haymaker does? He rests his scythe on the ground, holding the handle in his hand; and as he stands thus he considers: ‘Where am I going to strike with my scythe?’ and so he stands in suspense. And when he has made up his mind, he raises his scythe and sweeps it round” (“Pred. Volg.,” I, 323).

[He is speaking of a picture of the Seraph appearing to S. Francis.] “Have you seen it, over there at the Chapter-house? I don’t know who painted it; but, for certain, whoever did, planned it out very well before he painted it. He did it in such a way that you can plainly see that S. Francis is out of himself and all transformed into God. Just look a little at his mouth, and see what it shows you. Oh, how I like that expression, for surely it shows us how he believed in God’s love!” (“Pred. Volg.,” III, 42).

Bernardino’s prime object always is to seize and hold his hearers’ attention and get his meaning into their understanding. He tells us that in order to put himself on good terms with his congregations he made a point of learning “local tricks of speech” (“Pred. Volg.,” II, 229). He has recourse sometimes to quaint devices. Thus after reading out the text, Rev. viii. 8, he paraphrases it thus, imitating the sound of a trumpet. He says: “When the second Angel had put the trumpet to his mouth, *tpu! tpu! tpu!* a mountain burning with fire—bigger than Montamiata¹—fell into the sea,” etc., etc. (“Pred. Volg.,” I, 365). Again, in telling the story of the countryman, who, in time of war, mistook the

¹ The most prominent object in the distant view from Siena.

buzzing of a bluebottle in a barrel for the blast of a trumpet, and roused all the village to arms, he imitates the buzzing of the fly ("Pred. Volg.", II, 223). To illustrate the length of the "great sword" in Rev. vi. 4, he first says that it was bigger than Roland's sword, Durindana. "Oh, how big was it? I tell you it was bigger than all this Campo!—Oh, was it as long as from here to Porta a Camollia?—Longer: I tell you it was longer than all Tuscany!" etc., etc. ("Pred. Volg.", I, 283). He makes use of effective similes, as in this passage: "Lord, help me with Thy mighty hand, and help me against my enemies, that is, against my sins, which are ever besetting my conscience. Thus does the fallen soul implore help, repenting of sin with perfect heart, just like a child who has fallen into the mud, and he is little, so that he cannot get up without help. He cries and says, 'Mamma, mamma, help me!' and his mother helps him, and pulls him out of the mud," etc. ("Pred. Volg.", I, 354). Or this: "Do you see those windows over there? One is all open, another half open, another a little way open, another, less. Even into those with their shutters all closed, some of God's grace enters, for there are the chinks. And through every one of those windows some of the sun's brightness enters, but more into some and less into others. . . . So it is with those that wish for a share of God's grace; as each one prepares himself, so he receives the grace. If he prepares himself much, God gives him much; if little, God gives him little" ("Pred. Volg.", II, 205).

Bernardino had a keen sense of humour and a rich store of anecdotes, which he poured forth in profusion.

He justifies this lighter element in his preaching by pointing out that a joke may cease to be an "idle word" if "pious advantage" be its motive.¹

As specimens of Bernardino's anecdotes I quote the

¹ Serm. 2, "De Insp.", "Opera," III, 136.

following :¹ “An innkeeper while bustling about the table where his guests were sitting, and pretending to be very busy in waiting on them, poured away the wine they had bought, so that they might have to order more. He gave out, however, that it was an accident and said, that there was such abundance, that it was of no consequence, crying out, ‘There’s plenty, plenty, plenty more !’ One of the guests, however, saw through the trick, and, when the host’s back was turned, took the bung out of the cask, and let all the wine run away. The host began to ask his guests who had done this ; and then the culprit turned on him and said : ‘There’s plenty, plenty, plenty more, you know !’ The innkeeper brought him before the magistrate, but at the trial all the circumstances came out and he was acquitted, to the great discomfiture of the innkeeper.”

The following story is introduced by Bernardino to illustrate the duty of a parish priest to teach his flock the elements of religious knowledge :—

A New Way To Learn The Lord’s Prayer.

“A farmer about thirty years of age came to confession and was bidden to repeat the Paternoster ; but he said that he had never learnt it, for he had never been to school. The priest scolded him severely for not having learnt it ; but he replied that he never would be able to learn it. Then the priest, knowing his penitent to be a stingy fellow, said : ‘What would you give to any one who would teach it you ?’ ‘Twenty-five ducats,’ was the answer. Then said the priest : ‘Look here ! I will teach you that Paternoster in a year’s time without any trouble at all ; but during the year I want you to *lend* three bushels of corn to all the persons I shall send to you. Then,

¹ 33, “De Ev. Aet.,” “Opera,” II, 194. The story is given at much greater length in “Pred. Volg.,” III, 236.

when you have done so, if I shall have taught you the Paternoster by the end of the year, I will take nothing from you ; only the corn shall belong to the poor people to whom you have lent it.' The farmer agreed to this, and after he had gone away, the priest went to a poor man and said : ' Go to so-and-so from me, and ask him to give you three bushels of corn ; and tell him your name is *Pater noster*'. Again the priest sent another poor man, who was to say that his name was *Qui es in coelis* ; and so he sent a number of others, until all the clauses of the Lord's Prayer were exhausted. The stingy farmer perfectly recollects the names of all these people ; and then, when the year was up, and he saw that the priest said nothing to him nor taught him anything, summoned all the persons to whom he had lent the corn. The priest told them they were not to pay back anything ; and at the trial they informed the judge that it was the priest who had sent them to the farmer, and now told them they were not to repay anything. So the priest was sent for ; and when he came into court, he said to the farmer : ' What have *you* got to do with all these men ? Why, you don't know their names, nor who they are ! ' ' Oh, don't I ? ' replied the farmer. ' I know their names perfectly well ! I know that that man there is called *Pater noster* ; and that one yonder *Qui es in coelis* ! ' and so he named them all in turn till he had said the whole Paternoster. Then the priest said : ' Did we not agree that if I taught you the Paternoster in a year, the corn should belong to those men ? ' But the farmer answered : ' You have never even spoken to me once all this time, and certainly have not taught me the Paternoster'. ' Why,' said the priest, ' that *is* the Paternoster that you have been saying in telling me the names of your debtors ! ' So he lost his corn, but learnt the Paternoster." (2 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 157).

In 33, "De Ev. Aet." ("Opera," II, 194) Bernardino tells the following anecdote. A peasant went to get a florin changed by a money-changer who counted out the coins to him thus : "In the name of God and the Saints, six, seven, eight, nine, ten," etc. The peasant went away, and then, thinking there was something wrong, counted the coins himself and found he had been cheated. So he returned to the changer, who again counted the coins as before : "In the name of God and the Saints," etc. "Count once more," said the rustic, "and leave out God and the Saints!" So the changer had to count again, and his trick was detected. Compare "Pred. Volg.," III, 238, which shows that similar practices were common.

Another good story is that of Lippotopo's will (34 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 256). "Lippotopo was a merry fellow, and, even as he lived a joyous life and amused himself in the world, in that same spirit he died to the world. He amused himself by making his servants so lazy and worthless that when he dismissed them no one would engage them on any account if he knew they had been with Lippotopo. At last he fell sick, and determined to make his will : so he called for witnesses and a notary, and said : First I bequeath to the Hospital at Siena, 1000 ducats, and to the Lord Bishop, 1000. Item, I bequeath to the prisoners, 500 ducats. Item, for giving twenty maidens in marriage, 1000 ducats. Item, to wayfarers, 500 ducats. Item, to every Order of Friars, 1000 ducats. Item, I bequeath to the priest Jacopo, Rector of S. Daniel's at Padua, 1000 ducats. Item, for improving (*aptare*) bridges, eleven [*sic*] ducats. Item, to poor and shamefaced nobles, 5000 ducats, etc. And in all he bequeathed 30,000 ducats. But the bystanders, the commissaries, and the notaries, knowing that his fortune was small because he had spent a great part of his substance in the amusements and joys of this

world, said : 'Yes, you have certainly made these dispositions ; but where is all the money to come from ?' 'That's just the point,' said Lippotopo. Which gave rise to the common saying, 'That's the point, said Lippotopo.'

Sometimes, however, Bernardino's stories are tragic, as, for instance, the gruesome accounts of gamblers' deaths in 42 "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 197).

Occasionally he makes use of Apologues. Thus in a sermon against Gambling (42 "De Christ. Rel." "Opera," I, 195) he has an elaborate analogue of the institution of gambling by the Devil who is represented as setting it up in parody of the Christian Church. The parody is worked out in great detail : e.g. the Devil's cathedrals are the gambling houses ; his churches the taverns ; his oratories, the barbers' shops ; the introit in his Mass is the noise made by the players ; the Kyrie is their quarrelling ; the Gloria, their blasphemies ; the transubstantiation, the transfer of property from loser to winner, etc.¹

Sometimes, he draws his illustrations from personal experience or observation. Thus, to explain the words "And his voice as the voice of many waters" (Rev., I, 15) he says: "Were you ever at Venice ? Sometimes a light breeze springs up there of an evening and blows on the waters, which makes a sound ; and that is the waters' voice. This signifies nothing but the graces and inspirations that God sends" ("Pred. Volg.," III, 462). So he illustrates the fury of party strife by referring to a fight he once saw between two cocks, in which, after nearly tearing each other in pieces, their rage increased as their strength wore itself out (25 "De Christ. Rel.," "Opera," I, 112).

Let us now note his treatment of certain particular

¹ Similar apologetics in 32 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 248); 10 "Extr." ("Opera," III, 353).

points. An interesting passage on the infallibility of the Pope and of the Church occurs in 2 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 157): "Neither a Pope as Pope, nor a bishop as bishop, nor a priest as priest can err, any more than Christ; but they certainly do err as men. Accordingly if a Pope or a bishop determines wrongly, then they have erred as men, and not in their official capacity (*ex nomine dignitatis*), for if the Pope erred as Pope, Christ would err. Does not Christ say 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock,' that is, upon me, Christ, 'I will build my Church'? For that rock is Christ. And the reason why errors have multiplied for a long time past, especially in Italy, is, that the Church's determinations are despised. And though Peter's bark be shaken and tossed about hither and thither, up and down, yet shall the Church endure as long as the world lasts; and so I say you ought to believe one Decretal even as the Gospel."

A good deal of his preaching was aimed at the eradication of civil strife and party spirit; and he pays special attention to this matter in the Siena sermons, since he had been sent there with the primary object of healing the dissensions that had long prevailed in that city. The old shibboleths of Guelf and Ghibelline, long since dissociated from any intelligible principle, were the catchwords which rallied the rival factions in Siena and elsewhere. As Bernardino says (26 "De Christ. Rel." "Opera," I, 116): "Some silly people take the Church to be Guelf; but, as experience tells us, the Guelfs will fight against the Church, and the Ghibellines against the Empire seven times a day to gain their own ends". The early years of the fourteenth century had been marked by an extraordinary recrudescence of Guelfism and Ghibellinism.¹ Bernardino himself, living in the

¹ Muratori, "Annali d'Italia," *ad ann.* 1403. On the Guelfs and Ghibellines of this period see Burckhardt, op. cit. 76, 77 (Middlemore's translation).

midst of it all, could scarce comprehend the utter demoralization produced by party strife. "I wanted to find out," he says (17 "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 198) "the cause of so many murders committed in Lombardy and other places where I have been: and I have got into conversation with murderers who have told me that without any desire to kill or reason for killing, but merely from bad company and bad associates, some of them had slain more than 300 men, and ravished an infinite number of women, whom they had afterwards killed." Little children had been dashed to pieces, and finally those fiends in human shape had actually exposed for sale the flesh of Christians, and others had bought and eaten it. Countless houses had been burnt, and lands laid waste: and, says Bernardino, "my informant added, pointing to a great building, that were it full of money it would not pay for the damage they had done". No wonder that elsewhere (10 "Serm. Extr.," "Opera," III, 355) he ascribes the origin of Guelfs and Ghibellines to one of the satellites of Lucifer, the Prince of the devils. Such was the mad spirit aroused by these party strifes that in some place where Bernardino had been, if a man had cut a bulb of garlic in a particular way he would have been hewn in pieces ("Pred. Volg.," II, 233). The worst of it was, that the public conscience did not condemn these things: so that when Bernardino preached against party strife, his hearers did not meet him half-way, and all his work was against collar. "The deplorable thing is," he says (25 "De Christ. Rel.," "Opera," I, 113), "that even those who seem to serve God become so infatuated, especially as regards the Guelf and Ghibelline parties, that they live as securely therein *as if that were the perfection of sanctity.*" "A man once came to me," he says ("Pred. Volg.," II, 213) "frightened by my preaching, and he brought a son of his with him; and for all that I might

say in the pulpit and in private, I never could make him understand either by argument or ensamples the grave sin it is to be a party adherent. . . . They were decent fellows, but I could not get that cursed opinion out of their heads. They never would believe it was a sin. Now one of them is dead, and I believe he is gone to the devil's abode." Hence the preacher felt bound to take a strong, almost a fanatical line. "Has any one ever confessed the sin of using party emblems? If you don't confess it, and remove them, you will go to a hot place!" ("Pred. Volg.", II, 14). "All who make, or paint such emblems, all who order them to be made, all who look at them, keep them, or love them, all go to hell" (*ib.* II, 17). If a priest affects to absolve a penitent who has not renounced and repudiated all manifestations of party spirit, with a firm purpose of never more associating himself with parties, priest and penitent alike go to hell (*ib.* II, 233). His most remarkable utterance on this matter occurs in the sixteenth of the Siena Sermons ("Pred. Volg.", II, 18): "My Lord Jesus Christ, I pray Thee that if my father or my mother or any of my kindred have died adherents of these parties I am speaking of, I pray Thee that neither mass nor prayer that I might ever offer for them may be of any avail. And also I pray Thee, my Lord, that if any of them have adhered to parties until their death and have not confessed it, a thousand devils may have their souls, and there be no redemption for them for ever."

Whilst carefully abstaining from any interference with political affairs (unlike the great preacher of a later time, Savonarola) Bernardino was fearlessly outspoken in rebuking anything like injustice on the part of the authorities. Thus he denounces the imposition of a tax for the support of the University of Siena on certain churches whose revenues were so impoverished as to be unable to discharge the parsons' stipends. "I tell you,"

he cries, addressing the Priors ("Pred. Volg.," III, 420; cf. 500) "that you are not doing well in making them pay: and you will be paid out for this by God's judgment; for, far from being justified in making them pay, you are bound to relieve them from debt!"¹

So elsewhere ("Pred. Volg.," II, 284 ff.) he takes advantage of its being the day when public officials were balloted for, to speak very plainly about the duties incumbent on the electors with whom the appointments rested. In like manner, when setting forth the sinfulness of clerics mixing themselves up with worldly affairs, he calls attention to the gross impropriety of one of the most responsible offices at Siena, that of Camarlenço (or as we might say, Treasurer) of the Commune being filled by a friar, as it then was, and had been for many years. The result of Bernardino's exhortations was that, in the following year, pursuant to a resolution of the Council of the People passed on 4 October in this year,² a layman was appointed; and this, with the exception of a brief period (1452-9) was ever afterwards the rule.³

In that turbulent and demoralized age, the strict administration of the criminal law was not supported by public sentiment, which sided with the wrong-doer rather than with the representatives of punitive justice; less perhaps from sympathy with the criminal than from moral callousness and contempt of law. Hence Bernardino found it necessary to rebuke the injustice which suffered the worst criminals to escape through a miscon-

¹ The Saint's remonstrances had the desired effect ("Pred. Volg.," III, 500, n. 2).

² Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Delib. Concist.," ann. 1427, Ott. 4 f. 20.

³ "Pred. Volg.," III, 218, and note. The same thing happened with regard to another public office. See Heywood, "A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena," 18, 19.

ceived love of mercy ("Pred. Volg.", I, 326, 328). "If a man deserves to die, let justice have its course; for it is a holy and a good thing, and one of the chief things that keep the city in a good state"¹ ("Pred. Volg.", II, 62). The force of this appeal is, however, somewhat weakened by the preacher's urging in the same breath the correlative duty of rescuing one who has been apprehended though innocent, and not leaving him to rely on the strength of his case. . The whole passage is highly significant of the unstable equilibrium of the scales of justice in those days.

In regard to the punishment of one class of wrong-doers Bernardino's judgment would scarcely approve itself to public opinion now; for, referring to his preaching at Rome in 1424 ("Pred. Volg.", III, 121 ff.) he notes with satisfaction that as a result of it, two witches had been burnt to death, and exclaims: "Oh, could I not contrive that the like should be done here also? Come, let us burn a little incense to God here at Siena!" What moved him so deeply was his pity for the sufferings of the little victims of these women's cruelty. One of the witches confessed, without torture, to having murdered thirty children by sucking their blood.² Moreover, in his view, witchcraft and sorcery were nothing less than a denial of God and a worshipping of the Devil ("Pred. Volg.", III, 120). Hence he does his utmost to dissuade his hearers from resorting to wizards, palmists, and diviners of all sorts, threatening them with eternal damnation if they do. The true antidote of all these

¹ Bernardino's exhortations brought about the punishment of various malefactors, notably one Domenico di Nanni Cambiuzzo who had falsified the "Libri di Biccherna" containing the records of the public revenue and expenditure (Donati in "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria," I, 59).

² Her name was Finicella (Ciaconius, "Vitæ Pontif. et Card.", II, 1107) see above, p. 134.

poisonous superstitions was, as we have seen (above, p. 156) the invocation of the Holy Name of Jesus.

Against sexual immorality and unnatural vice (terribly prevalent in those days) Bernardino preached freely, though with extreme reluctance, and only on compulsion of duty.¹ The nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, and thirty-ninth of the Siena Sermons furnish remarkable examples of the discreet handling of most difficult matters ; though his plain speaking would not be tolerated in a modern pulpit, and even in that not over-squeamish age some of his hearers were, or affected to be, scandalized by it. There is, however, reason to think that the complaints came from persons whose sins the preacher had denounced.²

The abhorrence felt in those days for the Jews was fully shared by Bernardino, though in his case the repugnance he felt toward them was due to the vividness with which he realized the indignities their forefathers had inflicted on the Divine Saviour, as is plainly evident from his two treatises on the Passion (Serm. 51 "De Christ. Rel." and 56 "De Ev. AEt."). He lays down that it is a mortal sin to eat and drink with a Jew (3 "Extr.," "Opera," III, 333). The Jews were bound to wear some special mark whereby they might be known ; from this it seems they were exempt by Papal privilege at Padua, Vicenza, and Verona : on which Bernardino significantly observes : "There are some who deny that the Pope can make such a concession in the teeth of four Councils : but I don't want to take up a position contrary to the Pope's determination!" (*ib.*, 334). "May we do good to Jews, and love them ? I answer, that as to general love, we may love them ; but as to special

¹ 15 "De Ev. AEt." ("Opera," II, 86), 17 "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 74); cf. Hefele, 152.

² See "Pred. Volg." II, 101; III, 271, 272, and Serm. "De verbo Dei" ("Opera," IV. 138).

love, we may not" (*ib.*). What his own feeling towards them was may be gathered from this sentence: "*Caveatis accipere calices vel urceos judæorum, quia non possum credere quin eorum mulieres intus mingant in vilipendium Christianorum*" (11 "Extr.," "Opera," III, 361). Bernardino, I regret to say, shared in the monastic dislike of personal cleanliness; and even hints that it is inconsistent with the practice of virtue. "Bodily cleanliness," he observes in the sermon on the Sixth Beatitude ("Opera," III, 48) "is characteristic of the rich and worldly, and of vain persons who attend to bodily cleanliness only." And again (Serm. 1, "De Insp.," "Opera," III, 122) he deprecates frequent bathing "*ubi non requirit necessitas*," as tending to self-indulgence.

Some miscellaneous points of interest may here be noted, together with some autobiographical and personal recollections occurring in the sermons. We learn from No. 9, "De Tempore" ("Opera," IV, 168) that lunatics were tied up and beaten on the soles of the feet, "to the end that the bodily pain might bring about a return of their wits".¹

In 41 "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 191) Bernardino speaks of a curious custom of brides and their attendant women carrying coins in their shoes, on which coins the Cross, or other sacred symbol or name was engraved: "which holy things," cries the indignant preacher, "they trample on like swine; an evil omen for their married life". In 29, "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 235) he speaks of a custom prevailing at Siena, that on the death of a prominent citizen his relations employed some man to ride through the city announcing the death, and bidding the citizens to the funeral.

Pigs, it seems, were kept and fattened in the houses at Siena, whence Bernardino deduces the wholesome lesson, that if this inconvenience is borne with for the sake of

¹ A similar passage in 8, "De Christ. Rel.," "Opera," I, 33.

the advantage of the pork, even so a wife should be borne with for the sake of the children, the "noble fruit" that she produces, and not be beaten for every cause ("Pred. Volg.", II, 116).

Amid much that is puzzling and bewildering in the social life of that age, some familiar figures appear, to remind us that, after all, men and women were in essentials much the same then as now. The teetotaller and the vegetarian were already to the fore; but Bernardino has not a good word to say for them ("Pred. Volg.", II, 349); and so was the delicate old lady, so strenuous in spite of her age that she could cover as long a distance in a day as a strong man on horseback (Serm. 3, "De Inspirationibus," "Opera," III, 140).

A significant illustration of the prevalent ignorance of the clergy is given in "Pred. Volg.", II, 127. Two priests were talking together. Said one to the other: "How do you say the words of the consecration of the Body of Christ?" "I say '*Hoc est corpus meum*'" answered the other. "That's wrong," quoth the first, and they began to wrangle over it. Meanwhile a third priest came up, and, on being informed of the dispute, said: "You're both wrong, for the proper words are '*Hoc est corpus meusso*'. You say '*corpusso*'; therefore you've got to say '*meusso*'. The disputants, still unconvinced, appealed to a neighbouring parish priest, "Oh," said he, "why do you make such a fuss, when I hit it off so simply? I just say an *Ave Maria* over it!"

A passage in one of the Siena Sermons ("Pred. Volg.", I, 262) illustrates the interest taken by Bernardino in all sorts and conditions of men. He there tells us that he used to talk to those hired soldiers who under the Condottieri formed the scourge of Italy at that time, and were too often little better than highwaymen. He would tell them that they at least had a better reason

than most men for changing from Guelf to Ghibelline and back again at a moment's notice, namely the prospect of better pay. Then, touched by the friendly words of the famous preacher, they would often say to him : "O Friar Bernardino, remember the poor highwayman!"

In 3 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 160) he mentions the strange case (which he had witnessed) of a miser who had been held to ransom by his enemies, and hanged himself rather than pay, though he was well able to afford it, in order not to deprive his children of any of his fortune.

Let us now look at the sermons from another point of view, namely as illustrating Bernardino's personal character. And first we mark his child-like simplicity and his highly-strung, nervous temperament. He is easily elated, and easily depressed. "Just now, while I was saying Mass, I felt weak ; now I feel fit to take part in the jousts" ("Pred. Volg.," II, 389 ; cf. 395). A similar passage occurs in an earlier sermon ("Pred. Volg." I, 89) where the simple friar is so sure of his hearers' interest in all that concerns him, that he describes the effects of a powerful aperient he had taken. One day he expresses his serious apprehension that evil is coming upon Siena as a judgment on the party strife there. Two days later, he confidently hopes that all will be well. Next morning he declares that the Sienese are as bad as ever! ("Pred. Volg.," II, 219, 260, 284). He is affected by changes of weather, and rejoices in a perfectly fine day. "It's a tit-bit snatched from the devil! I declare I'm getting fat on it! and on a day like this, I weigh a pound more after preaching than before!" ("Pred. Volg.," II, 326). But with all this artless simplicity Bernardino was a thorough man of the world. As soon as he reached a place he at once made it his business to learn all that was going on ; and in a short time everything, "*ogni cosa odorifera, ogni*

puzza" had come to his knowledge : in short, he was master of the situation ("Pred. Volg.", II, 38). Of his experience of the ways of the world the reader has had some opportunity to judge from the account of the Sermons on Contracts (above, pp. 256 ff.) and I will here only refer to one more instance of it, namely the passage ("Pred. Volg.", II, 117-19) in which after urging the duty of marriage by an appeal to the highest motives he supports it on the ground of mere worldly prudence by giving a masterly picture of the discomforts of a bachelor's establishment, whether administered by a concubine or servants, contrasting it with one managed by a wife who is a good housekeeper.

His tenderness of heart is shown (if a particular instance be required) by the touching appeal he makes to his audience ("Pred. Volg.", III, 153) for the wretched persons imprisoned for debt and deprived almost of the necessaries of life. The response to the appeal was a contribution of two shirts, two pairs of drawers, and a pair of broken boots ("Pred. Volg.", III, 196). Bernardino's sarcastic commendation of this noble bounty, and his stern rebuke of the citizens' selfishness, at length stirred them to give liberal help (*ib.*, 226). On leaving Siena, Bernardino prayed the Government to organize and perpetuate the distribution of alms for the prisoners, and accordingly on 14 October, 1427, three citizens were duly deputed to manage the business.¹

The following passage illustrates his humility. "There is nothing that makes me fear for myself more than any one's speaking well of me ; for I know what I really am. And I know what I am better than he who praises me, because I am always in my own company and know what I do ; and because I know myself I am always afraid. And so he who blames me does me more good than he who praises me. S. Francis used

¹ Arch. di Stato in Siena, "Delib. Concist.," *ad annum*, f. 25.

to say : 'He who blames me does me more good than he who praises me, for he who blames me drives me up, but he who praises me, drives me down'" ("Pred. Volg.", I, 205).

Bernardino was evidently very fond of children ; he frequently addresses himself to them, and there are many allusions in his sermons to their ways. I quote some instances : "Children, do you know how to throw a stone from a sling ? You keep one of the cords tied to your finger, don't you ? and whirl it round and round like this ? and then you let go the other cord and the stone flies out ?" ("Pred. Volg.", III, 224).

"Did you ever hear the children when they went about saying all day long : 'Bread and candles' ; all day long : 'Candles and bread' ? And sometimes they used to lie down flat on the ground as if dead, with crosses made of reeds [beside them]. Is there any one here who remembers that ? It has already happened in my time : and it signified wars and mortality" ("Pred. Volg.", III, 202).

"This gift [of spiritual understanding] was not possessed by the Philosophers, who did not take the visible things of creation in their true meaning, but materially only ; having become like children who, in books and pretty gilded letters, only heed and wonder at the outward appearance, but do not trouble themselves about what the writing means" (Serm., "Eximii," VI, "Opera," IV, 36).

But after all it is by no mere extracts, and certainly not by translated extracts that we can form a conception of Bernardino's character. It is rather the general effect produced by reading the Siena Sermons in the original, with all their colloquial expressions and untranslatable idioms, that brings the man so vividly before us. It is impossible to read through even one of those sermons without feeling a personal affection for Friar Bernardino, and yielding to that indescribable fas-

cination which drew the people in their thousands and tens of thousands to hear him, and caused all men, from cultured humanists like *Aeneas Sylvius*, to the most degraded outcasts, to hang upon his lips.

What, we may ask in conclusion, was the result of Bernardino's preaching? He himself, at any rate, was under no illusion in this matter. "There is a strange thing that I remember often to have seen," he says,¹ "many, and even wicked persons shedding tears on hearing of the Lord's Passion—tears which, whether foolishly or wisely, I have tried to wring from my hearers' eyes by my affecting words. But when I have seen such persons return to their usual pursuits, I have recognized that they have bidden farewell to Christ's sufferings, to tears, and to virtue, and that no evil has been removed from their former way of life; and I have seen that it was the actual sufferings [of Christ] they wept over rather than their own misdeeds by reason of which the Passion took place." And what he observed in individuals, he observed in communities also. "I have had clear experience," he declares,² "of the wrath of an offended God against wicked peoples having been appeased by the fervour of their devotion, though God foreknew that not all of them would persevere in that conversion of theirs: and they had obtained such mercy from God by processions, litanies, prayers, alms, fasting, and similar good works. And though such masses of people are not converted to God in the lump through true penitence, for their penitence is for the most part outward only; yet in many [cases] such tokens of humility are so effectual before God that though they be but temporal³ they do appease Him temporally and in

¹ 51 "De Christ. Rel.," "Opera," I, 251.

² 61 "De Ev. AEt." ("Opera," II, 405). The subject of the sermon is "Good Deeds done in Mortal Guilt".

³ I.e. though their motive be merely the removal of temporal calamities.

respect of temporal things. Rahab the harlot found favour indeed with Joshua, so that she perished not in the destruction of Jericho; and that was because of the good deed she had done in hiding the spies that Joshua had sent to Jericho; *but we do not read that she there-upon forsook the trade of a harlot.*"

Yet there are other passages in which Bernardino thankfully records lives amended and sins forsaken through his words,¹ and his biographers are unanimous as to the large numbers turned to God through his lifelong ministry. And if the statutes passed (as we have seen) in many Italian cities at his instigation against gambling, blasphemy, and other vices were no more permanently effective than such measures have proved elsewhere, the fact that he, by his mere words from the pulpit, could bring about the immediate action of the authorities, shows how powerfully he stirred the public conscience. Here again he was under no illusion, and himself pointed out the essential futility of sumptuary laws ("Pred. Volg.," III, 203).

One inevitable result of the popularity of the new style of preaching introduced by S. Bernardino was the rise of a numerous school of disciples and imitators of him. Chief among these were John of Capistrano and Albert of Sarteano; another personal disciple was Michele da Carcano, while Fr. Cherubino of Spoleto, who had been adorning his sermons with the flowers of classical erudition, was persuaded to lay aside his beloved philosophers and poets and to apply himself to the study of S. Bernardino's sermons (Ronzoni, 88).

Similarly Fr. Roberto da Lecce tells us in a passage quoted by Ronzoni (p. 86) that Bernardino was his

¹ See, for instance, 24 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 217) where he tells from his own knowledge of a harlot whose heart God had touched and who became so notable a servant of God "that it was a marvel": also 2 and 7 "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 160, 175).

master both as to the composition and the delivery of his sermons. "I too," he says, "studied his delightful sermons and have preached them many times with advantage."

Thus S. Bernardino, whether by his direct personal influence or by the indirect influence of his written sermons, formed a body of preachers whose discourses were modelled upon his: and, though none of them achieved the success which his genius and personality commanded, they were all distinguished by the earnest practical tone of preaching they had derived from him.¹

¹ On the later history of S. Bernardino's followers see Ronzoni, 94-9; 115-19; 125-30; and on the effect of the preaching of the Observants generally in the fifteenth century see Hefele, 74 ff.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MINOR WORKS OF S. BERNARDINO.

I. The Commentary on the Apocalypse ("Opera," V, the whole volume).

THIS work is evidently of about the same date (1427-8) as the Sermons "De Christiana Religione," and "De Evangelio Æterno" (see below, Appendix II, pp. 354-5) since, in the first place, it is referred to in 26, "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 115) in the following words : "*Et Joannes subdit : et audivi numerum signatorum 144 millia signati, per quem numerum omnes electi mystice designantur, sicut alibi ostensum est* ; the passage referred to being the Commentary on Apocalypse vii. 4 ("Opera," V, 47); and secondly the Commentary contains an evident reference to the Sermons on Usury in the "De Ev. Æt.," in the following words : "*Usura multis modis variatur ; satis de ea dictum est in quadragesimali*" ("Opera," V, 93).

This Commentary is, so far as we know, Bernardino's only extant exegetical work.¹ It is based on the familiar mediaeval principles : (a) That every word of the Bible is divinely inspired ; (b) that the sacred text admits, besides the literal meaning, a variety of other meanings, the principal of which were the Allegorical, the Moral (or Tropological), and the Anagogical.² It should be noted

¹ According to Fr. Mariano, Bernardino commented not only on the Apocalypse but on all the Epistles and Gospels throughout the year ("A.F.H.," III, 706).

² See H. O. Taylor, "The Mediæval Mind," II, 41 ff. (Macmillan, 1911).

that in the numerous citations from the Apocalypse in his Sermons, Bernardino often adopts an exposition different from that in his Commentary ; for, like other mediaeval divines, he feels himself at liberty to interpret any passage of Scripture in the way that will best illustrate the subject he has in hand at the moment. For instance, in the Commentary ("Opera," V, 72) he gives a variety of explanations of the "wings of a great eagle" in Apoc. XII. 14, all differing from that adopted in the Sermon on Obedience ("Opera," III, 66).

Though a great part of the work consists of quotations from Augustin, Gregory, Bede, Richard and Hugh of S. Victor, Haymo of Halberstadt and other standard mediaeval writers, Bernardino's Commentary is no mere compilation, nor is it wanting in utterances characteristic of its author. One thing that strikes the reader at once is that he has before him the work of one who before all things was a preacher. We can see that Bernardino has throughout the edification of a prospective audience in view : he keeps in fact one eye on the pulpit and one on his desk. Thus his note on "I will give him the morning star" (Apoc., II. 28) includes a sort of outline of a sermon on that text (p. 22) : the "moral" exposition of the pouring out of the bowls (ch. XVI. p. 90) reads like a sketch for a course of sermons on the Seven Capital Vices, and again his gloss on XVII. 4 might be memoranda for one of his frequent tirades against women's "vanities".

I will now quote some passages from the Commentary illustrating S. Bernardino's views on some miscellaneous subjects of interest ; and then pass on to give an outline of his exposition of the Apocalypse in general, concluding with some of his most interesting interpretations of the text. First then we may notice his alarm at the condition of the Church in his own time. "Never," he says (p. 24) "have men been more reckless since the

first days of the Church than they are now. Everywhere thieves and robbers are making their way into the Church and plundering and slaying almost all men." The mention of the "doctrine of Balaam" in II. 14 gives him occasion to inveigh against the Prelates of his day. "Balaam," he says (p. 18) "is by interpretation 'devourer' and signifies the belly of many Prelates who hold his doctrine and whose whole study is drinking and eating and (would it were not so) luxury and lechery. Wherefore, as the children of Israel fell, and perished because they were mingled with the nations, so it is to be feared lest the Church in like manner fall and perish because of the curiosity [by which I think he means the learning of the Humanists], superfluous adornments, excesses, pomps and vanities of the Prelates." Similarly he refers the words "and the voice of lute-players," etc. (in XVIII. 22) to "the Prelates of our time who are over-fond of such musical entertainments," adding, however (p. 100), that "it is not always sinful to listen to such performances". Again, taking the words in VIII. 12, "The third part of the sun was smitten" as equivalent to the third part of the Prelates (p. 55), "See," he cries, "whether the third part of the sun be not smitten! For all (as Bernard says) love gifts and follow after rewards. They are called servants of Christ, but they serve Antichrist. . . . I speak of those in whom we see day by day the gestures of a harlot, the gait of a buffoon (*histrionicus*), and the pompous attire of a king," etc.

S. Bernardino displays a marked antipathy to the philosophy of the Humanists. Thus (p. 43) he says referring to the Last Day, adopting Gregory's language: "The foolish Plato will be there with his disciples, nor will their arguments, worldly knowledge, and sophisms profit them anything". Again, on the words in IX. 2, "And the sun was darkened," he says (p. 57): "This

means that the teaching of the preachers and doctors shall not be in repute because of the doctrine of false preachers. And that time seems to have come already, for nowadays novelty is better liked than truth and the vain subtlety which rouses astonishment is more willingly listened to than the profitable truth which begets compunction."

Turning to other matters, we find on page 85 a statement of his opinion on the worship of images. "It might seem," he says, "that it is superstitious to worship them; but this is false: they have been introduced into the Church for three reasons: (1) to instruct the simple, (2) to stimulate sluggish affection, (3) as aids to memory. Worship therefore is due to images as signs; but the feeling (*affectus*) dwells not on the image but on that which is imaged, according to S. John Damascene and Augustin."¹

But perhaps the most interesting feature of S. Bernardino's exposition of the Apocalypse is his absolute departure from the exegesis, I do not say of the Joachite Franciscans, but of Joachim himself. S. Bernardino does not mention Joachim at all, and his brief gloss on xiv. 6, "I saw another angel . . . having the eternal gospel" amounts to a tacit but emphatic condemnation of a new "eternal Gospel," whether as the term was understood by Joachim or by Gerard of Borgo S. Donnino and his followers.² S. Bernardino (as plainly appears from the context) takes the words "eternal gospel" to mean the Gospel of Christ, and his gloss is (p. 80) "*having*," i.e. proclaiming, "*the eternal Gospel*, either because no other Gospel follows it, or as promising things eternal, whereas the law promises things temporal".³

Moreover, in his exposition of the Seven Seals

¹Cf. 10, "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 39).

² See above, p. 11.

³ See above, ch. III., pp. 222, 230.

in chapters vi. vii., S. Bernardino expressly follows Bede, whose scheme differs in important particulars from that of Joachim,¹ and I need hardly say that of Joachim's essential doctrine of the three Epochs (see above, p. 3) there is no trace in S. Bernardino. Indeed S. Bernardino seems almost to go out of his way in order to depart from Joachim. Joachim for instance² explains the heads of the scarlet beast in Apocalypse xvii. 3, as follows : 1. Herod. 2. Nero. 3. the Arian Emperor Constantius. 4. "Mahomet, or rather Cosroes King of the Persians." 5. "He who first in Western lands began to vex the Church on account of the investiture of Churches" (i.e. the Emperor Henry IV). 6. "The eleventh King in Daniel" (see Dan. vii. 24). 7. Unnamed.

S. Bernardino substantially follows this list, omitting, however, Mahomet as an alternation to Cosroes, describing the fifth King as "Henry King of the Germans who . . . inflicted many persecutions on God's Church"³ and giving Antichrist as the seventh; *but he transfers the list to the heads of the first beast in ch. xiii.* (p. 74) while in his exposition of ch. xvii. 9 (p. 96) he gives the following slightly different list. 1. Herod Antipas. 2. Nero. 3. Constantius the Arian. 4. Cosroes. 5. Diocletian. 6. An unnamed King "whom it concerns us not to determine". 7. Antichrist.

Two curious incidental glosses on other parts of Scripture may be noted. S. Bernardino, quoting Prov. xxv. 4, "Remove rust from iron" [it should be "from

¹ An abstract of Joachim's exposition of the Apocalypse is given by Tocco ("L'eresia," p. 353 ff.).

² See passage from Joachim's Commentary on the Apocalypse in Tocco ("L'eresia," p. 372, n 1).

³ Probably Henry V who imprisoned Pope Paschal II (see Milman, "Latin Christianity," b. viii, c. 2) is meant: but the allusion would also fit Henry IV.

silver"] treats the text as a prediction of the Immaculate Conception and glosses it thus: "Remove from the glorious Virgin Mary all propensity to sin and original taint" (p. 52).

And (p. 114) he explains in reference to Luke xvi. 24, that Dives was tormented in his tongue because "in carnal banquets men are wont to let their tongues wag in blasphemies and bad language".

Even in this Commentary S. Bernardino cannot quite repress his love of a good story, for (p. 95) he tells us of a priest who, fuddled after a night of hard drinking, on being asked next morning for his blessing, hiccupped in reply, "The King of angels bless—his servants' drink!"

With regard to S. Bernardino's exposition in general, he divides the book into three principal parts: I, the Exordium (I. 1-8); II, the Executive Part (I. 9-xxii. 5); III, the Epilogue (xxii. 6 to end). The Executive Part is subdivided into seven visions (*VII genera visionum*) as follows:—

1. The Reproving of the Churches (I. 9-III. 22).
2. The Opening of the Seals (IV. 1-VIII. 1).
3. The Angels with the Trumpets (VIII. 2-XI. 18).
4. The Victory over the Dragon (XI. 19-XIV. 20).
5. The Seven Bowls and the great Harlot (XV. 1-XVII. 18).
6. The Condemnation of Babylon and overthrow of the Beast (XVIII. 1-XX. 15).
7. The End of the World and the glorification of the Blessed (XXI. 1-XXII. 4).

The three parallel visions of the Seals, the Trumpets, and the Bowls form the backbone of the Apocalypse, and S. Bernardino's exposition of them may therefore be conveniently given in outline here.

The opening of the Seals represents the seven Ages of the Church (and herein as I have said S. Bernardino expressly follows Bede) as thus:—

1. Age of the Apostles.
2. Age of the Martyrs.
3. Age of the Heretics.
4. Age of the False and Hypocritical Brethren "in which we now are" (p. 55).
5. The Saints protected and comforted with the hope of their reward.
6. The time of Antichrist.
7. A brief time of peace between the death of Antichrist and the end of the world.

The Angels with the Trumpets stand for the Defenders and Comforters given by God to aid the Church against her enemies. Thus :—

The first Angel represents the Apostles ; the second, the Martyrs ; the third, the Doctors ; the fourth, the Poor Preachers¹ against false Christians and Schismatics ; the fifth, the Preachers whom God will send in the Fifth Age, viz. either the preachers of the Fourth Age or others, against the precursors of Antichrist : as to the sixth Angel, S. Bernardino's exposition is equivocal for, while (p. 53) he seems to imply that this Angel represents God Himself, "who shall come against Antichrist, and who alone can overcome the Devil"; on p. 58 he merely speaks of the sixth Angel "comforting the Church under the rage of Antichrist". The seventh Angel represents a new order of Preachers proclaiming the approaching end of the world, and making a final appeal to men to repent (p. 66).

Bernardino's exposition of the pouring out of the Bowls is more elaborate. He takes it to represent :—

(a) The punishment of the enemies of Christ in the Seven Ages of the Church, viz., 1. The Jews. 2. The persecuting Roman Emperors. 3. The Heretics. 4. The

¹ With special reference perhaps to the Friars of the Strict Observance. Cf. Ronzoni, p. 29.

Hypocrites. 5. The Precursors of Antichrist. 6. Anti-christ. 7. The Devils (p. 88).

(b) The Preachers in the Seven Ages denouncing the sins of Christ's enemies.

(c) The condemnation of the seven capital vices, as thus: the first bowl is poured out against gluttony (earth); the second against lust (sea); the third against anger (rivers and waters); the fourth against pride (sun); the fifth against envy ("which is the proper seat of the devil"); the sixth against avarice (Euphrates); the seventh against "*Accidia*"; these parallels being worked out with considerable ingenuity.

I will now give specimens of S. Bernardino's interpretation of various passages in the Apocalypse:—

On I. 10 "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day," he notes the significance of times, observing that Solomon, who was not going to keep to wisdom, received it by night; and that Judas, who was not going to return to repentance, fled by night from the society of the Lord.

On I. 11, the Seven Churches typify seven qualities of the ideal Church of God, according to fanciful etymologies: e.g. Ephesus is interpreted "my will, or counsel" and signifies the Church wherein is God's will, through perfect charity.

On I. 12, "That I might see the voice," "How," asks the commentator (p. 8), "is he said to see a voice which is not visible, but audible?" The answer is, that it was a spiritual, not a corporal voice that he heard; for that in this case seeing and hearing are convertible terms; and, spiritually speaking, a voice may be as well said to be seen as to be heard. In commenting on II. 13 (p. 17), "Antipas my faithful witness," he takes martyrdom in a wide sense as equivalent to any kind of witnessing for God, e.g. austerities endured in youth, as in the case of Daniel; continuance in well-doing; assiduity in preaching.

On iv. 2, "Immediately I was in the Spirit," S. Bernardino notes (p. 31) that these words are directed against laziness and procrastination, and cites the following saying of S. Francis : "He who is truly obedient delays not to obey orders, prepares his ears to listen, his tongue to speak, his feet for a journey, his hands for work, and gathers himself up to fulfil what is enjoined on him".

The throne in iv. 5 (distinct from the "seat" in iv. 2) is the throne of the ideal Prelates of the Church, whence proceeded lightnings, i.e. virtuous deeds, voices, i.e. admonitions, and thunders, i.e. denunciations (p. 32).

On iv. 6 (pp. 32, 33), the glassy sea = (1) baptism, (2) the Church in affliction, (3) penitence, (4) the world. The four creatures = the Evangelists (the Eagle, however, may be either S. John or S. Francis); or the Preachers.¹

On iv. 8, "And they rested not," S. Bernardino observes (p. 33) : "He who is doing good is ever praying; ever, that means, day and night; namely, in prosperity and adversity".

Expounding v. 1 (p. 35), S. Bernardino takes the principal sense of the Sealed Book to be the Divine Plan of Redemption, and the opening of it to be the carrying out of this plan by the Lamb of God. He also takes the Sealed Book in a number of subsidiary senses, viz. (1) the Scriptures, (2) the life of Christ, (3) the Church Triumphant, (4) the Church Militant, (5) the Blessed Virgin, (6) the Apocalypse itself, (7) Christ in the Sacrament of the altar. In this last case, the seals are seven miracles wrought in that Sacrament, (8) S. Francis (written within spiritually, and without, corporally, by the Stigmata of the Passion).

¹ Cf. on xix. 4 (p. 102) where he takes the four creatures as representing the Doctors.

On vi. 6 (p. 41), the exposition of the words of the "Voice amid the four living creatures" is curious. The "two-pound" measure (*bilibris*) of wheat = the sound understanding of the New Testament. The "two pounds" = the literal and the spiritual understanding of it; the "one denarius" = the perfect unity of these two senses. The "three two-pound measures of barley" = the Old Testament. There are three measures, because of the triple division of the Old Testament by the Hebrews into Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa. "Hurt not the wine and the oil" = Deprave not the understanding of the Scriptures. The wine = the austerity of the Old Testament, the oil = the sweetness of the New Testament.

With reference to the sealing of the 12,000 from the tribes of Israel (ch. vii.) he notes (p. 47) that Dan is omitted because Antichrist shall be born of Dan; and Ephraim, because Jeroboam "who made Israel to sin" was of that tribe.

On viii. 7, "The third part of the trees was burnt up," we are told that by the "trees" may be signified the Superiors of the Monastic Orders, of whom one part are devoted to the contemplative life, one to the active, while the third occupy themselves with litigation and worldly business, and this third part were burnt up.

On x. 1 (p. 60), the "strong Angel" = Christ, who will comfort the Church in the age of Antichrist. The Angel's feet = the preachers of the word who bear Christ everywhere. The seven thunders (x. 3) = the preachers of the word filled with the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit; the book (in x. 8) = the preaching of the Gospel; and, morally, the life of Christ, which each one must write by conforming himself to Christ's image (p. 62).

On xi. 1 (p. 63, 1), "the reed" = freedom to preach and expound the Scripture conferred on S. John and

his successors ; also the assistance of the Blessed Virgin. "Measure the temple, the altar, and the worshippers" = preach to all. The Court without the temple (x. 2) which is not to be measured = false Christians who are outside the Church.

On xi. 19, "The temple of God was opened" = the mystery of Christ, concealed beneath the figures of Scripture shall be revealed (p. 67).

c. XIII. (pp. 74-6). S. Bernardino evidently feels the great difficulty of expounding this chapter. It describes in his view, the conflict between the army of the Dragon and the Church. The first beast (verse 1) rising out of the sea represents for him the wickedness of the laity and the pride of secular princes ; while the second beast (verse 11) represents the wickedness of the clergy and the greed of the Prelates ; but in his gloss on verse 12 he also takes the first beast to be Antichrist. The "wounded head" of the first beast, which was healed, represents a simulated death and resurrection of Anti-christ. Verse 18, in which the number of the beast (666) is given, he expounds thus (p. 76) : "Since the number of Antichrist is based on 6 (which number is attributed to the creation, whereas 3 is the number attributed to the Creator) you must know that he is a mere creature and purely human, but not God."

On XIV. 17 (p. 83) he points out in reference to Matthew xix. 28 that the Saints will participate in the Judgment, but only by way of approbation and assent, for the Son alone will judge in the strict sense, and that as delegate of the Trinity ; and on xv. 4 (p. 86) he explains that the whole Trinity will at the last day judge "as to authority of jurisdiction" ; the Son as to the promulgation of the sentence, the Apostles as assenting thereto, and *omnes pauperes evangelici* as approving thereof.

On XVII. 1 (p. 95) the great Harlot = (1) Anti-

christian falsity, (2) worldly vanity, (3) the city of Rome (*Civitas Romana*), (4) the sinful soul. The "scarlet beast" in verse 3 = the Devil, who "was and is not" (verse 8) because the Incarnation stript him of much of his power.

On xviii. 2 (p. 98) he notes that the chief motive of devils in tempting men to lust is, that they may excuse themselves before God and be able to say in the Judgment that men have sinned a viler sin than they. Compare "Pred. Volg." III, 262, where Bernardino, speaking of sins against nature, says : "*Ogni cosa apitisce il suo simile ragionevolmente. El diavolo di sua natura è gentile, ed è naturale : ellì disidera queste due cose ; e se l'uomo cade in questo peccato contra natura, al diavolo gli spiace perchè è contra al suo simile. Egli è gentilissimo, e questo è gravissimo ; egli è naturale, e questo è contra natura ; e però mai non ne tenta niuno che facci questo peccato. Dico bene che esso ne gode che si facci*" etc.

On xix. 4 (p. 102), he notes that in the Old Testament, Angels suffered worship to be paid them (e.g. Josh. v.) ; but here the Angel forbids John to worship him ; since the Incarnation has exalted the human above the angelic nature.

On xxi. 1 (p. 108), S. Bernardino says that there will not be a fresh creation of a heaven and an earth, but that the old will still subsist, though changed for the better in their qualities ; and the elements will be so modified as to suit immortal bodies.

II. "Tractatus Confessionis" ("Opera," III, 421 ff.).— In this sermon-treatise on Confession¹ Bernardino discusses both the religious and the legal aspects of the

¹ He takes as his text the words *Confessio et pulchritudo in conspectu ejus* (Ps. xcvi. 6). The subject is also handled in 15, "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 60); 27 and 57, "De Ev. Æt." ("Opera," II, 147, 379) and 21, "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 209).

elaborate system built up by the mediaeval divines for the cleansing of sin and the restoration of the sinner ; a system admirable in theory but requiring for its success that it should be administered by men of the utmost learning, discretion, and purity of life. Hence it broke down so miserably, partly from the ignorance and wickedness of the priests, partly from the laxity of the laity, who treated the ordinance as more or less of a formality, and resorted by preference to ignorant priests of loose life, as Bernardino himself tells us (p. 430), quoting a particular case that had come to his knowledge, where, on the penitent confessing that he had sinned with women, the confessor exclaimed, " My son, that is what I do myself ! "

The most interesting part of the treatise is that in which Bernardino proves the universal obligation of the ordinance (pp. 422, 427, 428). The ministry of reconciliation, he argues, was instituted by Christ, and the exercise of it conferred by Him on the priests of the Church, who are His successors, and, as such, mediators between the individual sinner and God, even as Christ is the mediator between man and God. Therefore the sacrament of penance is a kind of continuation of the mediatorial work of the Redeemer. In John xx. 22, 23 (" Receive ye the Holy Ghost," etc.) the duty of confession is implicitly prescribed, for Christ here empowers the ministers to heal, though he does not expressly tell the sick to have recourse to the physician. The duty of confession is, however, explicitly enjoined in James v. 16. Under the old dispensation, before God became man, confession to man was not required, since God alone can forgive sins. But since the Incarnation confession to the God-man is required, and, since He as to His human form cannot be everywhere present, He has appointed human vicars, i.e. the priests. Hence, confession to a priest is a universal obligation from which not even the

Pope can dispense, and to which the Pope like any other sinner is liable. The Pope's confessor is herein the Vicar of Christ to whom the Pope must confess.

In reference to the case of a penitent who professes to repent but declines to do penance, Bernardino perceives that the essential point is, that the penitent shall forsake his sins, and that the performance of a penance is comparatively unimportant. Hence, the confessor is to persuade the sinner, if he can, to accept penance, and, in the last resort, to inflict only such light penance as he may be reasonably expected to bear; in support of which our Lord's example is cited, of whom we never read that He imposed heavy penances (see John viii. 11; v. 14).

As regards the vexed question as to the function of the priest in absolution, it is worth noticing that S. Bernardino held that the priest's sentence is declaratory only.¹ He says: "*Aliter remittit peccata ipse Deus, aliter sacerdos. Deus enim remittit peccatum quum ad mortem non imputatur; sacerdos vero quum dimissum est peccatum, per auctoritatem, i.e. per Christi meritum, ostendit et indicat; qui etiam sub eodem sensu ligare dicitur quum ligatum ostendit. Hæc est enim clavium sacerdotalium potestas, ligandos vel solvendos discernere ac deinde solvere vel ligare merito Jesu Christi*" (27 "De Ev. AEt," "Opera," II, 148).

We may here note some other utterances of S. Bernardino on Confession taken from his Sermons which will show with how many pitfalls both for confessor and penitent this sacrament was beset. In the first place, no one can be saved unless (after reaching years of discretion) he confess at least once a year² to a discreet con-

¹ See Lea, "Hist. of Auricular Confession," I, 142 ff.

² This obligation was imposed, as is well known, by the Lateran Council of 1215. The necessity of auricular confession as a prerequisite for the forgiveness of sins had only become established in the twelfth century (Lea, "Hist. of Auricular Confession," I, 206 ff.).

fessor able to give the necessary advice and instruction ("Opera," III, 209); for, though the confessor have the requisite authority, yet if he be unskilled, the confession is void and must be repeated ("Opera," II, 151; III, 210). Thus if a confessor through being blind fails to point out the sinfulness of a woman's finery or to examine his penitent concerning the circumstances in which the sins were committed, he goes to perdition and drags his penitent with him ("Opera," III, 255; II, 385). Such ignorant confessors are but the Devil's agents (*negociatores*); and it will go ill with souls if the confessor does not know his business. For to be able to doubt, is a proof of knowledge, and the ignorant man, who has no doubts, stumbles along like a rider over a road full of pitfalls ("Opera," III, 207). Of course, were the confessor without the necessary authority, which might happen in a variety of ways (see "Opera," II, 151), as, for instance, if he had received a benefice from a person publicly excommunicated, a confession to him would be equally ineffectual.

The subject of Restitution, which is closely connected with that of Confession, is treated at length in Sermons 33-40 "De Christ. Rel.". The restitution of property wrongfully acquired, and reparation for injuries, whether temporal or spiritual, inflicted on others, is a pre-requisite to the effectual reception of the sacrament of penance and is therefore a matter of great importance to confessors, as well as of considerable intricacy ; which accounts for the minuteness with which Bernardino discusses it in these sermons.¹ Restitution also forms the subject of Sermon 28, "Seraphin" ("Opera," III, 231) in the course of which the following story occurs : A, a noble of Padua, sent for B, a notary, and compelled him under

¹ On the subject generally and the profits which accrued to the Church from the business of enforcing restitution, see Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 43 ff.

threats of death to draw up a duly-attested bond purporting to be executed by C, whereby C bound himself to repay a loan of 1000 ducats which he thereby acknowledged he owed to A. B then went to C, and made restitution for his false witness by drawing up a fictitious acknowledgment by A that C had repaid the loan. After some months, A claimed payment from C, who produced A's acknowledgment that the money had been repaid. "The deed is a forgery," said A, "how did you repay me?" "With the same coin with which you made me the loan," was C's reply. The case was then taken into court, when A's servants, who had been present when the threats against B were uttered, were examined, and the truth was found out; on which Bernardino remarks: "If a false witness could manage to atone for his false testimony like that prudent Paduan notary without danger to himself, he would do well".

"Restitution" must be distinguished from "Satisfaction" to which, as Bernardino says (40 "De Christ. Rel.," "Opera," I, 188) it is preliminary. It consists in the performance of the penance enjoined by the confessor as satisfaction to God for the *temporal* punishment still due from the sinner, after his absolution from the *eternal* punishment to which his guilt has made him liable.¹

Discretion is needed on the penitent's part, as well as on the priest's, so that he may be aware of the relative seriousness of the sins he is confessing. "Don't be like the man who was overwhelmed with grief at having spat in Church without rubbing away the traces of it with his foot, but thought nothing of having in his possession some 200 stolen ducats; for thieving (he said) was the custom in that part of the country" ("Opera," III, 207).

¹ "Satisfaction" is discussed in the Appendix to Sermon 15 "De Christ. Rel.," which Appendix reappears word for word as Sermon 15, "Extraordinarii" ("Opera," III, 373).

The subject of the mental disposition required in the penitent as a pre-requisite to his reaping any benefit from this sacrament is discussed by Bernardino in the twenty-third "Seraphin" Sermon ("Opera," III, 214), and in the twelfth "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 47-50). Amid the intricacies of this perplexing and much-debated subject,¹ Bernardino steers a moderate and sensible course. Explaining the theological terms Attrition and Contrition, he observes ("Opera," I, 48) that the former springs from the fear of punishment and the latter from a consideration of the offence committed against God by sin; but attrition informed by Grace becomes contrition, the disposition required in the penitent. Since attrition springs from the fear of punishment, the attrite sinner only grieves for great sins, such as murder, treason, perjury, blasphemy, etc., whereas the contrite sinner mourns over every deviation however slight in thought, word, and deed from the path of God's will, so that no hankering after sin will remain in him, and, rising up to do God's will, he will wholly conform himself to His good pleasure, thenceforth keeping back in himself nothing at all of himself. The attrite heart is like a heap of brickbats; the contrite heart is like bricks pounded to dust in a mortar and then pressed into a heap by hammers of iron. Yet if a man disposes himself by attrition, God will pour His grace upon him and change his attrition into contrition. As to the amount of grief in contrition, it is not necessary, but in the nature of a counsel of perfection, that the contrite sinner should grieve more over his sins than over the loss of a beloved child, or of his whole fortune, or of his liberty, or of his life. As Bernardino points out in 34 Seraphin ("Opera," III, 257) the grief we are required to feel for having offended God differs not in degree but in kind from that which we naturally feel

¹ For full information about it see H. C. Lea, op. cit., II, 1-23.

at earthly calamities, and has its seat in a different part of our being. The latter is merely *dolor sensitivus*; the former is *dolor intellectivus*, and the essence of it is the purpose to sin no more. The *dolor intellectivus* may however produce the *dolor sensitivus*, as in the case of a certain harlot who while listening to a sermon realized the offence she had done against God, and began to cry aloud, "Mercy, mercy!" and so expired. "And if I mistake not," adds Bernardino, "I believe that she passed away to glory."

III. The "Tractatus de speculo peccatorum, de contemptu mundi" ("Opera," III, 437-40) is substantially a sermon setting forth the vanity of the world, the awful condition of the lost, and the joys of heaven, concluding with an earnest exhortation to repentance.

IV. The "Tractatus de præceptis regulæ fratribus minorum" is a brief exposition of the Rule of the Order ("Opera," III, 440-42) and it is followed by a summary of cases in which a Friar Minor may be deemed to be an owner, either of property, or of his own will contrary to the Rule: an instance of the latter would be to abide in any cell or convent of his own will and not at the bidding of his Superior.

V. The "Daily Aspirations to God" ("Opera," III, 444, 445) correspond very closely with the "short prayer for every day" which S. Bernardino in his farewell sermon at Padua in 1423 bade his hearers use ("Opera," III, 361, 362). They are as follows:—

Sunday. Raise thy spirit to God and say: O good Jesus, make me love thee ardently. (These words, often pondered and uttered, are of wondrous virtue.)

Monday. Jesus, sweet Love, make me feel with what unbounded love thou hast loved us and still dost love us. (These words are to be dwelt on with solemn consideration.)

Tuesday. Most loving Jesus, I would love thee,

but without thee I cannot. (These words should be long and often meditated on, and uttered with longing of heart.)

Wednesday. Jesus, my Love, make me to die for love of thee. (These words are to be said with great fervour of heart.)

Thursday. Jesus, my Love, grant me fervent love to thee, humble obedience, and thanksgiving, that is, let me have a continual sense of thy benefits and of praising and blessing Thee. (These words should be pronounced with great sweetness of heart.)

Friday. O my Jesus, crucified for me, empty thyself into me and wholly make thyself fast to me with the nails of thy love. (These words are to be uttered with the utmost devotion of heart and body.)

Saturday. O Jesus, Love most joyful and most glorious, when shall I be wholly inebriated with thee? When shall I be visibly inebriated with thee? When shall I be so joined to thee that I may offend thee in nothing and be unable to be severed from thee? How long shall I be removed from thy face? To be without thee is continual grief to me and like to eternal death. O most sweet Jesu, I worship thy glorious Name and earnestly commend me to thee. (And these words are to be rested on, as on a Sabbath.)

VI. The rhymed "Dialogus intra Religionem et Mundum" ("Opera," III, 445) is in its original form in all probability the work of Fr. John Pecham (less correctly Peckham), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1279 to 1292. Four versions of it are extant, of which that attributed to S. Bernardino is the latest. Mr. C. L. Kingsford, who has edited the text in Vol. II of the publications of the British Society of Franciscan Studies (Aberdeen University Press, 1910), considers that, although Bernardino obviously cannot have been the author of the poem, he may possibly be responsible for this its latest version "the omissions in which include some of the most definitely topical allusions of the

original". I may add that Bernardino quotes a long passage from Pecham (" Joannes de Piccano, alias de Picciano ") on " Canticles " in Sermon 2, " De Christiana Vita " (" Opera," III, 7, 8), and the same passage again in Sermon 12, " De Tempore " (" Opera," IV, 180), and refers again to his commentary on " Canticles " in the 31st of the Siena Sermons (" Pred. Volg.," III, 14).

VII. In the " Dialogus de Obedientia " (" Opera," III, 448 ff.) the interlocutors are a young lay-scholar Paul, and S. Bernardino, and the question is discussed, whether the vow of absolute obedience to another man (except only in things contrary to the soul's health and to Gospel perfection) which is imposed on a Friar Minor is a part of Gospel perfection. S. Bernardino's position is, that this vow is not only a part of Gospel perfection, but of the essence of it; and he answers various objections advanced by Paul. The only one of the objections which he regards as at all serious is the third (p. 449), viz. that the absolute obedience vowed by the subject is bad for the Superior, since he is, *ipso facto*, prevented from yielding obedience himself, and therefore in a state of imperfection. As Bernardino shows in his Sermon on Obedience (" Opera," III, 62), the sacrifice of one's own will involved in the monastic vow is the greatest sacrifice that a man can possibly offer to God, and the reward of this sacrifice is, exemption from the pains of Purgatory and an immediate passage from the cell to Heaven (*ib.*, 66). Accordingly he whose business it is to give orders would seem to be thereby deprived of the power of reaching the state of perfection attainable by making this sacrifice. There is something in this, Bernardino allows, but still he points out that the Superior should himself have undergone the discipline of obedience, and have been promoted as it were against his inclination, and thus have owed his promotion to his own obedience. Moreover, if he takes a right view of his position, he will have more reason to

be humbled than puffed up ; and at least the Superior's loss is trifling compared with the Community's gain. And, in replying to a different objection (p. 455), he calls attention to the unparalleled feature in the Franciscan Rule, that the Superior is actually admonished to be the servant of his subjects.¹

I add Bernardino's answer to the fourth objection, viz., that absolute obedience is contrary to the law of Nature as appointed by God : for that by that law all are equal, save that children are bound to obey their parents, and the foolish, the wise ; whereas by the law of monastic obedience that law may be violated. S. Bernardino meets this by laying down that the action of man whereby some are set over others is itself a fulfilment of the law of Nature. The circumstance that the foolish may be set over the wise is an accident inevitable in the course of human life, but not intended by Nature or by the law of obedience itself ; and moreover in such a case the obedience yielded is all the more meritorious in that it is accompanied by perfect humility. As to children and the younger being set over parents and the elder, this is right, if they are fitter to rule than their parents or elders, and if they continue to yield that reverence to fatherhood and age which is fitting (p. 449).

VIII. "Itinerarium anni seu Sylva Prædicabilis."—In the Communal Library at Siena (U. IV, 11) is a manuscript account of an investigation conducted before Orazio Bandinelli, Pro-vicar of the Archbishop of Siena in June, 1757, concerning the authenticity of a manuscript entitled "Itinerarium anni seu Sylva Prædicabilis," alleged to be an autograph work by S. Bernardino, and described as a *repertorio o manuale di cose predicabili per portarselo seco*. It was produced for authentication by "Illustris Dominus Abbas Julius Franchini Taviani, Patricius Pistoriensis et Auditor Generalis civitatis stat-

¹ "Opuscula S. Francisci," ed. Quaracchi, p. 72.

usque Senarum pro S.C.M."¹ who had obtained it with other relics of S. Bernardino from the friars of La Capriola; and he desired to establish its genuineness as a relic for exposure to the worship of the faithful. After a comparison of it with the autograph letter of S. Bernardino written from Florence on 21 January, 1439,² by two experts in palæography, the genuineness of the relic was formally pronounced by the said O. Bandinelli on 25 June, 1757, and it was restored to the Abbot Franchini Taviani on 4 October, 1757, sealed on the first and on the last numbered page with the seal "*in cera hispana*" of the Archbishop of Siena, Alessandro Cervini.

The following is the description of the relic (MS. cited, p. 11). *Liber in quarto cum custodiis ligneis coperti coramine rubri coloris floribus ornati cum quatuor parvis clavis ab utraque parte custodice supereminentibus ex auricalco confectis pro custodice conservatione, clausus duabus fimbriis ex coramine auricalco munito. Habet ex una parte custodice infixum ferrum cui hærebat, si quando cingulo alligatus ferebatur, ab altera vero parte custodice adest infixa inscriptio in membrana pecudina, quæ dicit. Itinera: anni seu sylva præd. S. Bernar. Interius continet folia ex membrana pecudina confecta quæ numerantur a fol. octavo usque ad folium ducentesimum octuagesimum primum: est manuscriptus duabus columnellis in qualibet parte folii; in plurimis quorum adsunt plures oblitteraturæ, et spatia vacua, et folia non scripta; et caracter apparelt antiquus.*

An authenticated copy is preserved in the same library (U. IV, 7). The relic itself was believed to have found its way into the Franchini family chapel at Pistoia. Its present whereabouts is something of a mystery (see A.F.H.I. 470). The work consists of sketches of sermons and other memoranda which Bernardino doubtless used in his preaching journeys. (A specimen extract is given in Hefele, p. 101.)

¹ I.e. *Sacra Cæsarea Majestate.*

² See above, ch. II. p. 187.

CHAPTER V.

S. BERNARDINO IN ART.

[BY JULIA CARTWRIGHT (MRS. ADY)].

THE profound impression created by the life and teaching of S. Bernardino could not fail to leave its mark upon contemporary art. He had travelled on foot through the towns and villages in every part of Italy; he had gone in and out among the people as one of themselves, sharing their joys and understanding their sorrows, healing their cruel feuds and calling them to higher and better things, and the memories that he had left behind were not quickly forgotten. The burning words of the preacher still rang in men's ears, his look of love and compassion was still fresh in their hearts. After his canonization in 1450, churches and chapels dedicated to his name sprang up in every direction, pictures and statues of him were to be seen in each Franciscan shrine, and during the last half of the century no Saint held a higher place in popular affection.

Even in Bernardino's lifetime, signs of his influence were apparent in his native city, and it was largely due to his teaching and example that Sienese painting retained a distinctly religious tone in an age when secular forces were daily gaining strength. The Saint himself was no enemy to art. In his youth a painting of the Madonna, on the Porta Camollia, became his *bella amica* and fired his heart with passionate love for Our Lady. In later life he was on friendly terms with painters and

sculptors, and sought their help in his great revival. At his bidding, they painted the Sacred Name on thousands of buildings, and adorned churches and wayside shrines with new images of Madonnas and Saints.

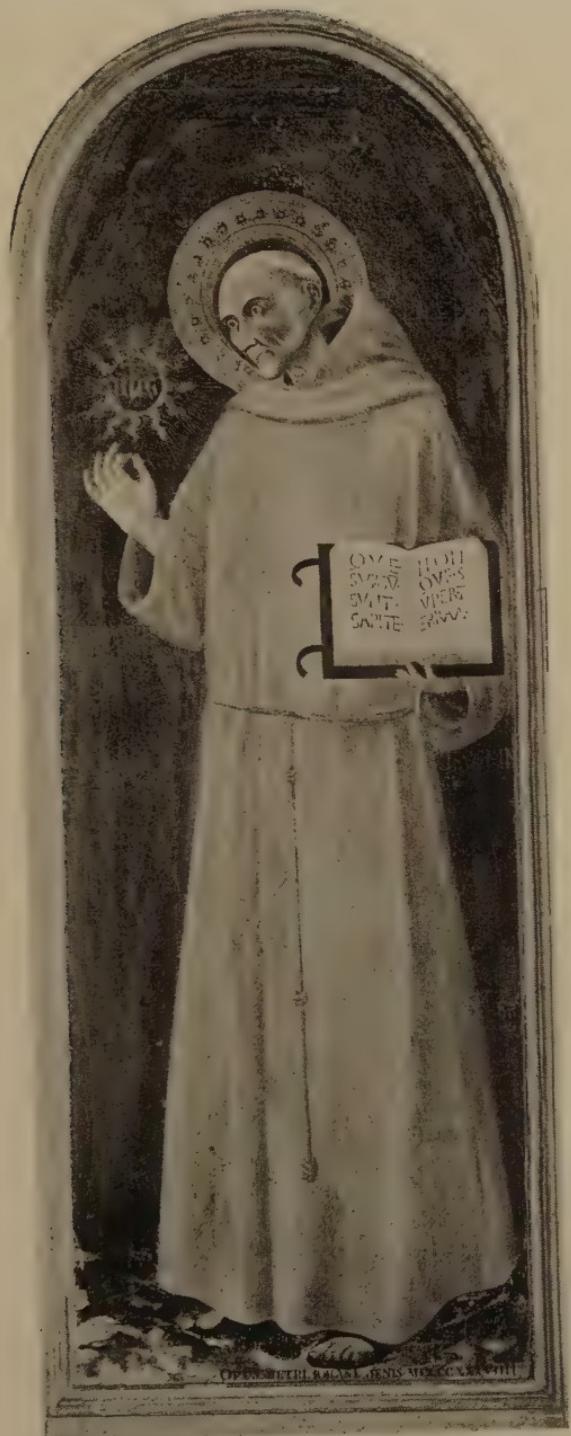
The fascinating group of Sienese artists who flourished in the fifteenth century were closely connected with S. Bernardino. Stefano di Giovanni, surnamed Sassetta, the foremost master of the school, was employed in 1436 to paint a Madonna in the Saint's own convent church of the Osservanza, on the hill of Capriola—the shrine which he helped to build with his own hands and where his cell is still preserved. This painter, who entered more fully, perhaps, than any Italian master into the spirit of S. Francis, must have known Bernardino intimately. Fresh from intercourse with him, Sassetta went in 1437 to Borgo San Sepolcro, where he spent seven years in painting the many-panelled altar-piece which contained the lovely vision of Francis's Marriage with Poverty, and the three fair maidens floating over the peak of Monte Amiata.¹ On 7 January, 1445, only seven months after Bernardino's death, Sassetta received the sum of sixty-four lire for painting a figure of the Beato in the church of the Hospital of La Scala, the scene of the Saint's early labours. Four years afterwards, his assistant, Pellegrino Rossini, was paid twelve florins for his share in the altar-piece and decorations of the chapel of the Beato Bernardino.² Sassetta died in 1450, the year of Bernardino's canonization, but his scholars took up the brush which dropped from the master's hand, and filled the churches and convents of Siena with pictures of the beloved Saint. The old Church of the Osservanza, rebuilt in 1485 on a splendid scale by Pandolfo Petrucci, the tyrant of Siena, who is

¹ B. Berenson, "A Sienese painter of the Franciscan legend," 38.

² G. Milanesi, "Documenti per la Storia d'Arte Senese," II, 245, 380.

himself buried in the sacristy, became a temple of Sienese art. There, besides Sassetta's altar-piece, we find a triptych of the Virgin with S. Jerome and S. Bernardino, and a small Madonna, by Sano di Pietro, and many other works of the school, while down in the crypt the Saint's habit is preserved in a richly carved silver casket, adorned with statuettes of Bernardino, the work of Francesco di Antonio, who completed it in 1460.¹ But more interesting than any of these is the portrait of Bernardino, painted in 1439, by Sassetta's assistant, Pietro di Giovanni Ambossi. The Saint, we know, spent most of that summer at Capriola, and Pietro probably painted this portrait while his master Sassetta was away at Borgo San Sepolcro. In early life, Bernardino is described by his contemporaries as a beautiful youth—“*formosus et pulchrâ facie*”—but the austeries which he practised and the fatigues which he underwent rendered him prematurely old. At forty-six he was already bald and toothless and is said to have been the living image of S. Francis (above, pp. 133, 143). But there was a refinement in his face, a sweet and tender charm that appealed to his hearers with peculiar force, and a chronicler who met him in 1426, on his way to Viterbo, speaks of him as “*un bel vecchio*”. In this portrait at Capriola, painted thirteen years later, we have the original of the type faithfully preserved by Sienese artists through successive generations—the ascetic face, sharp features and pointed chin, transfigured by the ardent expression of a soul on fire with the love of God and man. As we walk through the rooms of the Gallery at Siena, the familiar form in the grey habit, bearing the tablet with the sacred monogram, meets us at every turn. Sometimes Bernardino appears in altar-pieces at the side of S. Catherine and the Archangel Michael, more often with S. Francis and the great Saints of his order, and

¹ Milanesi, op. cit., II, 315.



PORTRAIT OF S. BERNARDINO BY PIETRO
DI GIOVANNI AMBOSSI
(*L'Osservanza, Siena*)

always at the feet of the Blessed Virgin, the liege lady of Siena, to whom his heart and service were pledged.

There is another portrait here by Pietro di Giovanni, with the text "*Nolite diligere mundum*," and the still more impressive one by his fellow-pupil in Sassetta's shop, Lorenzo Vecchietta. On this last we read the words "*Manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus*," the text which the Brothers were chanting when Bernardino died on the vigil of Ascension Day. Vecchietta was also the painter of the beautiful and touching head of the Saint in the Palmieri-Nuti Palace at Siena. This master, whose renown as a sculptor equalled his fame as a painter, bore a special devotion to the Hospital of La Scala, and built and endowed the chapel in its precincts, for his own burial-place. For this chapel, three years before his death in 1480, he painted an altar-piece now in the Gallery, and carved the noble bronze Christ which still adorns the high-altar of the Hospital Church.¹

Vecchietta's pupil—Neroccio di Landi, whose blue-robed Virgin, commanding the city of Siena to Christ, is one of the most charming in the series of book-covers preserved in the city archives, was the author of five different paintings of S. Bernardino in the Gallery, including a fine triptych, with the Virgin between our Saint and the Archangel Michael, bearing the date of 1476. To Francesco di Giorgio, another excellent master of the school, we owe a lovely Nativity in which the Saint is introduced, while Giovanni di Paolo, a weaker but often attractive artist, has repeated the same figure in many of his works.

But the most distinguished of all Sassetta's followers was Sano di Pietro, whose gracious Madonnas and angels with their mystic smile and brightly coloured robes have won for him the title of the Sienese Fra Angelico. "A famous painter and a man wholly de-

¹ Milanesi, op. cit., II, 367.

voted to God," are the words in which the Dominican chronicler ends his record of the devout end which Sano made, and of his burial in the cloisters of S. Domenico, on All Saints' Day, 1481.¹ Sano was pre-eminently the painter of S. Bernardino. No less than twelve pictures of the Saint by his hand are still to be found in Siena, besides many others which have perished. Of those still in existence, the finest is the fresco which he painted in 1450, in a hall of the Palazzo pubblico, on the same wall as his great Coronation.² Here Bernardino is represented, holding a model of the city of Siena with the black-and-white marble Duomo and the lofty Mangia Tower, in one hand, and pointing with the other to the Sacred Name set in a circle of golden rays. Above we read the words of the text, "*Manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus*," and in the background are the three mitres of the Episcopal Sees which he refused—Siena, Ferrara, and Urbino.

Both Sano and Vecchietta must have known Bernardino personally, and their portraits of him were practically taken from life. Both of them have left us pictures of the Saint preaching to his fellow-citizens, painted with all the truth and vividness of an eye-witness. Two of these curious little panels are preserved in the Chapter-house of the Duomo. In the first, Bernardino is preaching from a pulpit on the meadow in front of S. Francesco, where he delivered a course of sermons in 1434. He holds a crucifix in his hand, and addresses the kneeling crowds in fervent language. A wooden partition covered with red cloth divides the men in their long mantles from the white-veiled women, and in the background we see the black-and-white striped marble of the convent-church, with a large cypress tree growing up by the bell-tower. The scene

¹ Milanesi, op. cit., II, 390; Necrologia di S. Domenico, 110.

² Milanesi, op. cit., II, 389.



S. BERNARDINO PREACHING OUTSIDE S. FRANCESCO, SIENA, BY
SANO DI PIETRO.
(Chapter-house of Cathedral, Siena)

of the second picture is laid in the Campo in front of the Palazzo pubblico and the Torre del Mangia. Here Bernardino stands in a high pulpit, holding up a tablet with the Y H S before the city magistrates, who occupy raised seats on the right, and a multitude of men and women who kneel in adoration of the Sacred Name. The same symbol appears on the walls of the Palazzo, where it was painted by order of the Signory, at Whitsun-tide, 1425, to commemorate the friar's course of sermons and the solemn procession with which it closed (above, pp. 135-6). Another version of the theme by Vecchietta is preserved in a hall of the Palazzo. Here the details of the scene are somewhat different. The tribune occupied by the grave and reverend Signors is hung with red damask and green boughs. The attitudes and expressions of the hearers are more varied. Some stand idly by, paying little attention to the preacher, others look about them, only the women kneel, with eyes earnestly fixed on the speaker's face. Several of the company are clad in rich brocades, and the handsome youth standing at the back of the crowd reminds us of the future Pope, *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, who was present on many of these occasions, and was so deeply moved by the preacher's words that he determined to join the Franciscan Order, until a conversation with Bernardino satisfied him that he had no vocation for the religious life.

Lorenzo Vecchietta, the painter to whom we owe this graphic representation of the memorable scene, was also a sculptor and goldsmith of repute, and a silver statue of S. Bernardino is mentioned among the images which he made for the Duomo. There was a great demand at this time for silver figures of the Saint, and many were ordered by religious communities in Siena. As early as 1454 Francesco di Antonio, the goldsmith who made the reliquary in the crypt of the Osservanza, was chosen out of several competitors to

execute a silver statue of the Saint for a chapel in the Duomo. This figure, however, proved to be considerably larger than those of the Apostles Peter and Paul on the same altar, and in 1465 the Cathedral Chapter decided to melt down Francesco's statue and employ the superfluous silver in making an image of S. Catherine.¹

During the last years of the century, Sano and Vecchietta's followers kept up the old tradition, and pictures of the Saint were in greater request than ever. Matteo di Giovanni, the most accomplished master of the younger generation, was employed early in his career to decorate the chapel of S. Bernardino in the Duomo with frescoes.² These have disappeared, but the well-known figure appears in the artist's altar-piece in the small shrine of S. Pietro Ovile, and again in a lovely Madonna which he painted at Belcaro, the villa hidden among lemon groves and ilex woods outside Porta Fontebranda. Another painter of rare promise who cherished a deep devotion for S. Bernardino was Pietro degli Oriuoli.³ A gentle and devout soul, this young master, in the words of a contemporary writer, "led the life of a good monk in the world, spending three hours a day in prayer, and never doing evil, or speaking hard words of others". When he died in the summer of 1496, he was buried by his own request at Capriola, in the cloisters of the Osservanza, and the friars laid a beautiful garland of flowers on his corpse, in token of his pure and virgin life. Unfortunately the frescoes and altar-pieces which the short-lived master painted in the Duomo and Baptistry, in the Sala della Pace of the Palazzo and in other churches, have all perished, and hardly a trace of his work is now remaining.

¹ Milanesi, op. cit., II, 293, 370.

² Op. cit., II, 373. ³ Op. cit., II, 391.

Many of the above-named artists were employed by the confraternity of S. Bernardino to decorate a two-storied chapel in the piazza before S. Francesco which was originally dedicated to S. Maria degli Angeli, but afterwards became known as the Oratory of S. Bernardino. As early as 1445, Sano painted an altarpiece which is still preserved in the chapel, for the sum of 320 lire, and Pietro degli Oriuoli adorned the sanctuary with frescoes, which were obliterated with many others to make room for the art of a later generation.¹ To-day this ancient oratory is chiefly memorable for the works which Sodoma and his companions painted in the first decades of the sixteenth century. The figure of the Saint in the upper chapel is by Pacchia, but Sodoma himself painted a now ruined fresco of the Madonna and S. Bernardino, by command of the Signory, on the Chapel of the Piazza del Campo. Another head of the Saint with which this popular master decorated a funeral bier, after a fashion then common in Siena, is still preserved in the chapel of the Confraternity of S. Giovannino near the Baptistry.² Even in the decadent days of the seventeenth century, Sienese artists were still busy with the old theme, and Manetti was employed to cover the walls of the lower chapel in the oratory with frescoes of the Saint's life.

But it is not only in his native city that Bernardino's name still lives in the art of the Renaissance. Wherever his steps had trodden, wherever his voice had been heard, the memory of his wonderful life was cherished, and the fame of his saintliness and charity handed down. If he figures comparatively seldom in Florentine art, the fact is probably due, less to the old rivalry between the two cities, than to the close connexion of the Medici with the community of S. Marco and the Dominican

¹ Milanesi, op. cit., II, 412.

² R. H. Cust, "Giovanni Bazzi," 184.

Order. Yet Bernardino's bust is to be seen among the blue and white medallions with which Andrea della Robbia adorned the brown loggia of S. Paolo's hospital (1490-5) and his chosen device was emblazoned in gold on the portals of Santa Croce by order of the Signory, in memory of his sermons and of the bonfire of vanities which he held there—seventy years before the days of Savonarola.

But there was one city in Florentine territory where Bernardino's fame overshadowed that of all other Saints. This was Arezzo, where he had destroyed the grove of Apollo at Fonte Tenta, and built a chapel dedicated to Santa Maria delle Grazie on its site. Among the Aretine masters whom Vasari praises in high terms was Gaspare or Parri Spinello, who had known S. Bernardino when, in 1407, he spent some months in Siena, where his father was engaged in painting the frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico. A delicate nervous lad, Parri was early drawn to the kind Saint, and at his request, painted an altar-piece of the Virgin, stretching her mantle over the citizens of Arezzo, to adorn his new shrine. Parri died in 1452, after covering the churches and public buildings of his native city with frescoes of S. Bernardino, of which hardly a trace remains to-day.¹ But after his death the magistrates erected a stately church with a graceful loggia by Benedetto da Maiano in the place of Bernardino's chapel, and employed Andrea della Robbia to frame Parri's Madonna in a marble altar, decorated with cherub-heads and garlands of fruit and flowers, as well as a statue of the Saint himself. At the same time the Florentine sculptor, who had lately completed the beautiful altar in the Osservanza at Siena, introduced a figure of the Saint in a Crucifixion which he executed for the Duomo of Arezzo.

¹ G. Vasari, "Le Vite con nuove annotazioni da G. Milanesi," II, 279.



ALTARPIECE BY PARRI SPINELLO AND ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA
(*S. Maria delle Grazie*, Arezzo)

Another picture of the Madonna sheltering the town magistrates under her blue mantle was painted for Le Grazie in 1456, by the Florentine master, Neri di Bicci, and has recently been removed from the church outside the gates to the Gallery in Arezzo. In the foreground, Bernardino himself is seen kneeling at the Virgin's feet with a crucifix in his hand, imploring her protection, and a graphic representation of the destruction of Fonte Tenta occupies the centre of the predella below.¹

Many traces of the Saint's presence are also to be found in Venetia and Lombardy, which he had visited frequently. One of the Vivarini has painted a life-size figure of him in the sacristy of S. Francesco della Vigna, the Osservanti convent where he always stayed in Venice. He is standing between S. Jerome and the young Provençal Bishop, S. Louis of Toulouse, whose green mantle, embroidered with golden fleur-de-lis, forms a striking contrast to the grey habit of the Franciscan friar. Another master of the same school, Alvise Vivarini, has introduced a beautiful figure of S. Bernardino into an altar-piece, which he painted for S. Francesco at Treviso, and which is now in the Academy of Venice. Our Saint also appears in Giovanni Bellini's great Pesaro altar-piece, and in Tintoretto's well-known painting of S. Mark presenting Doge Andrea Gritti to the Virgin, in the Sala del Collegio of the Ducal palace. His journey through the remote mountain district of Belluno is commemorated by a portrait in the municipal palace, evidently copied from some earlier work. In the background Bernardino is seen preaching on the piazza, and a long inscription describes the reconciliation between the Guelfs and Ghibellines which his eloquent appeals at length effected.² At Padua, we have a permanent

¹ Vasari, op. cit., II, 59, 60.

² See above, p. 130.

record of Bernardino's devotion to S. Anthony in the finely-composed but sadly-injured fresco, by Andrea Mantegna, above the chief portal of the great basilica dedicated to Il Santo. In this work, painted in 1452, when Andrea was only twenty-one, the two Saints are represented on their knees, supporting a disk with the Y H S and the surrounding rays in gilt metal, enclosed in a circle inscribed with the text : *In nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur celestium, terrestrium et infernorum.* The words *Andreas Mantegna optimo favente numine perfecit, MCCCCLII. XI. Kal. Sextil,* are cut in the stone below, and bear witness to the pride which the youthful master felt in this important work.

In 1454, a Lombard artist, Bernardino Buttinone of Treviglio, introduced a figure of his patron Saint who had himself visited this city in 1419, in a Madonna which he painted for the parish church. The magnificent basilica of S. Maria delle Grazie, founded by S. Bernardino on his visit to Bergamo in 1422, and consecrated five years later, was stripped of its rich stores of art early in the last century and razed to the ground in 1856. But the noble altar-piece by the patriarch of Lombard art, Vincenzo Foppa, which the Venetian Michieli saw there in 1525, was sent to Milan by order of the Viceroy Eugène Beauharnais and is now the glory of the Brera. The Virgin and Child occupy the centre of the picture, surrounded by a goodly company of Franciscan Saints, among whom Bernardino stands, book in hand, pointing to the Sacred Name—a singularly fine and impressive figure. One of the Brescian master's first commissions had been an *ancona* for a chapel dedicated to the Saint in the Carmine at Pavia, and almost his last work was a processional banner of S. Bernardino which he painted for the Church of Orzinuovi near Brescia, during a visitation of the plague in 1513.¹ Here the Madonna sits

¹C. J. Ffoulkes, "V. Foppa," 32, 119-26, 213.

enthroned under a red canopy and the Child bends down with innocent grace to receive the medallion with the Y H S from the Saint's hands.¹ A similar motive recurs in one of Lorenzo Lotto's masterpieces, the fine painting which still adorns the Church of S. Bernardino in the lower town of Bergamo. The Venetian master, after his wont, has lent a dramatic touch to his theme in the action of the Madonna, who addresses the attendant Saints with outstretched hand, while the Child turns to bless Bernardino, and a shower of roses falls on the child-angel crouching on the marble step of her throne. Bernardino also figures in a group of Franciscan Saints, in an altar-piece in the Church of S. Francesco at Brescia. The painting is by Romanino, but the chief interest of the work is the sumptuous frame, which bears the date of 1502, and, according to Dr. Moeller,² was destined to hold a picture by no less a master than Leonardo. The original sketch for the composition is still in existence, but after his wont, the Florentine never executed the painting, and another artist was called in to do the work.

Our Saint was a favourite subject with another great Brescian master, the pious and thoughtful Moretto, and is the principal figure in the large altar-piece which, originally painted for a Verona church, passed into the National Gallery from Lord Northwick's collection. Surrounded by a group of Saints, he lifts the Sacred Name above his head and displays an open book inscribed with the old text—*Pater, manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus*, while the opening heavens reveal the vision of the Virgin and Child throned on the clouds between S. Clare and S. Catherine. At Bernardino's feet are the three mitres, bearing the names of the three

¹ C. J. Ffoulkes, "V. Foppa," 32, 119-26, 213.

² "Repertorium für Kunst-Wissenschaft," XXXV, 241-61 (Berlin, 1912).

bishoprics which he rejected. These mitres appear again in a miniature painted by some Lombard master about 1490, in Bona Sforza's "Book of Hours". Here two friars and a Benedictine monk, kneeling at the Saint's feet, in a landscape crowned with city towers, offer him three mitres, while he points to the Y H S on a tablet encircled with flames of fire.¹ Another Milanese artist has left a simple and touching tribute to the Saint's memory in the Church of Le Grazie at Lugano, where Bernardino lodged in 1419, on his journey through the Ticino valley. More than a hundred years later, Luini painted his great Crucifixion in this church, and one of his assistants adorned a side-chapel with a Pietà, in which S. Francis is seen supporting one arm of the dead Christ, while Bernardino holds up the other tenderly, and wipes away a tear with his fist.

Verona was another city where the Saint's preaching had produced a deep and lasting impression and where great honour was paid to his memory. One of the first sanctuaries to bear his name was built by the citizens of Verona in 1450. This beautiful church is still standing on the banks of the Adige, and Osservanti friars still cultivate the convent-garden with its cypress-walks, where roses and oleanders blossom round the statue of S. Francis. Gothic and classical forms are blended in its picturesque façade, and the circular chapel of the Pellegrini is a gem of Renaissance art—the masterpiece of the great Verona architect Sanmicheli. All the best Veronese masters were employed to decorate this shrine,² but although works by Liberale, Bonsignori and Caroto, are still to be seen, the only painting of S. Bernardino now remaining inside the church is an altar-piece by Francesco Benaglio, in which the Virgin and Child

¹ G. Warner, *Miniatures*, 300. G. F. Hill in Thureau-Dangin and Hügel, "S. Bernardino," xiii.

² Vasari, op. cit., V, 284.

place a nimbus on the brow of the kneeling Saint. On the outer wall of the cloister, to the right of the chief entrance, is an injured painting of S. Bernardino, by the popular master Cavazzola and the convent library contains an interesting fresco, executed by Morone in 1497, with portraits of the donor, Count Leonello Sagramoro and his wife, and a figure of Bernardino among the Franciscan Saints standing behind them. An oil-painting of the Saint, ascribed to Liberale, and a fresco of his preaching, by the Friuli master, Domenico Tolmezzo of Udine have also lately been brought to light in the little Oratory of S. Toscana in Verona.¹

In 1488, the year in which he painted his altarpiece of the Madonna and Saints in S. Bernardino, Francesco da Verona, better known as Bonsignori, entered the service of the Marquis Gian Francesco Gonzaga and spent the rest of his life at the Court of Mantua. Here Bernardino had long been the object of especial veneration. It was Gian Francesco's great-grandmother, the excellent Paola Malatesta, who first invited him to preach at Mantua in Lent, 1421, and whose husband gave the pilgrimage Church of S. Maria delle Grazie to the Osservanti. (See above, p. 121.) Paola herself became a devoted votary of the Saint and ended her days in the Convent of Poor Clares, which she had founded and where her accomplished daughter—Pisanello's *Cecilia Virgo*—had already taken the veil. Her son Lodovico built the imposing Church of S. Francesco, which was consecrated by Pope Pius II in 1459, and became the burial-place of all the noble Mantuan families. The sumptuous Gonzaga chapel, or Cappella de' Signori, was dedicated to S. Bernardino and richly adorned with frescoes and marbles. Here Paola and her descendants, the Marquis Gian Francesco, his famous wife, Isabella

¹ D. A. Spagnolo, "S. Bernardino a Verona," Atti e Memorie dell' Accademia di Verona, serie IV, I, 11.

d'Este and their children were laid to rest under splendid tombs, and the church is said to have contained more than 300 monuments before it was pillaged by the French in 1797. This once glorious temple is now used as an arsenal, and the only fragment of the paintings that formerly adorned its walls—a lunette of S. Bernardino and S. Louis of Toulouse, supporting a shield with the Y H S, which Bonsignori painted above the pulpit, is to be found in the Brera. Another figure of S. Bernardino between two angels, was brought to Milan from Mantua in 1811 together with a small bust of the Saint by Bonsignori, evidently an object of private devotion, which has been placed in the Poldi-Pezzoli collection. This master whom Gian Francesco employed by turns to draw portraits of his children and favourites, his dogs and horses, painted a fresco of the Last Supper in the refectory of the adjoining monastery which Vasari describes as "a marvellous thing, that excited the admiration of the best critics". Here, in evident imitation of Leonardo's Cenacolo, portraits of the Gonzagas were introduced. On the right the Marquis himself and his handsome little son, Federigo, were represented kneeling with clasped hands at the feet of S. Francis, while on the left S. Bernardino, "his countenance shining with love and kindness," led forward Cardinal Sigismondo—Gian Francesco's brother and his youthful daughter Leonora, afterwards Duchess of Urbino.¹

The members of the ducal house of Urbino were as devoted to S. Bernardino as their Gonzaga kinsfolk. The great Duke Federigo, who in his boyhood had seen and heard the Saint when he preached at his father's Court at Gubbio, took the Osservanti Order under his especial protection, and the new church which he built on the heights of Urbino to be his family burial-place, was dedicated to S. Bernardino. Nor was

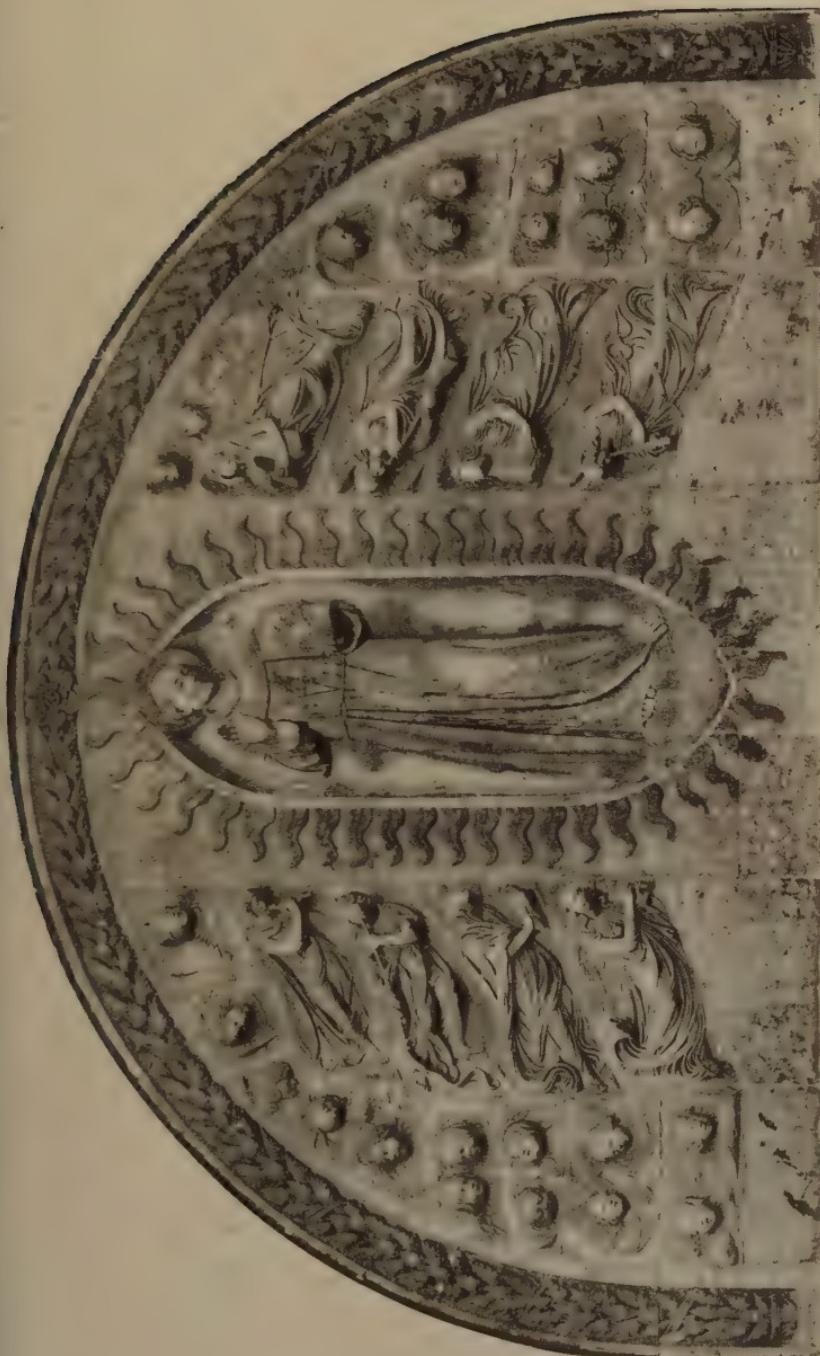
¹ Vasari, op. cit., V, 301.

the Saint's memory less honoured in the neighbouring Marches of Ancona. The Venetian master Carlo Crivelli, who made his home at Ascoli for fourteen years (1473-87), painted many figures of the holy friar who had been so beloved in these regions. His full-length picture of S. Bernardino, with a pilgrim's staff in one hand and a book in the other, and two small donors kneeling at his feet, which originally hung in the Annunziata at Ascoli, is now in the Louvre. Others are in the Brera and in Lord Northbrook's collection. But the finest of all Crivelli's representations of the Saint is to be found in the altar-piece which he completed in 1487, for the Osservanti Church at Fermo. The Madonna is seated on a richly decorated throne, festooned with garlands of fruit and flowers held up by angel-hands, and is attended by all the great Franciscan Saints. Bernardino stands on the right next to S. Louis, holding a crystal reliquary with the Sacred Blood and pointing to the Name of Christ, while in the opposite corner, behind S. Francis and Bonaventura, we catch a glimpse of his faithful friend, S. John of Capistrano, bearing the red cross banner of the Crusade which he preached. This superb work belonged to Lord Dudley, until it was bought for the Berlin gallery twenty years ago.¹

But often as Bernardino has been painted by Lombard and Venetian, by Tuscan and Veronese artists, he was even more popular with the masters of the Umbrian school. The enthusiasm which his sermons had aroused in Perugia on his first visit to this town, in 1425, never died away. The priors erected a marble pulpit on the piazza outside the Duomo for him to preach from in 1439, and immediately after his canonization they decided to build a chapel dedicated to his name, in the green meadows under the Convent of S. Francesco del

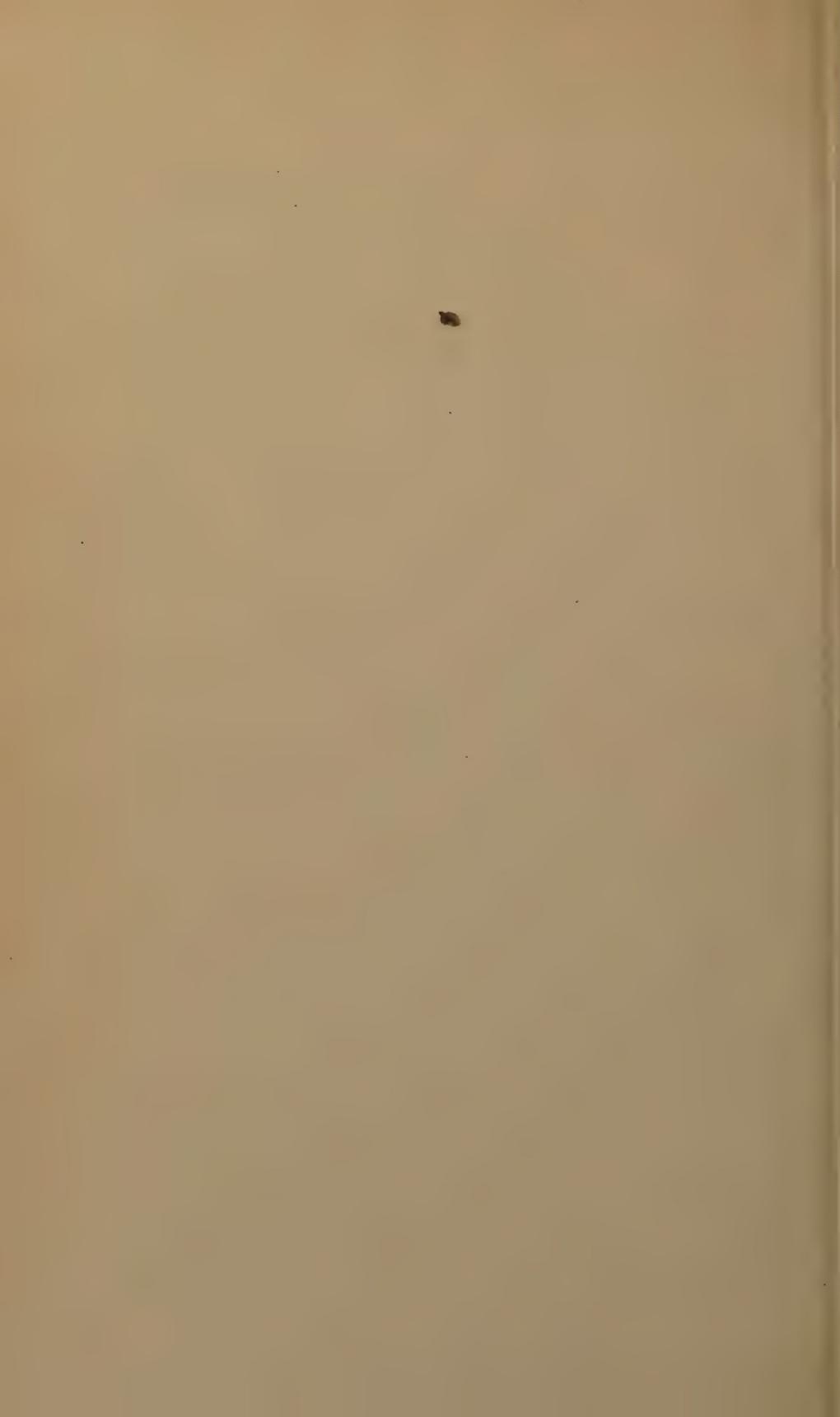
¹ G. Rushforth, "Carlo Crivelli," 70.

Prato. In 1456 they engaged the Florentine sculptor, Agostino Duccio, to decorate the façade of this new Oratory in a manner worthy of the city and of the blessed Saint. How well Duccio fulfilled the trust reposed in him every visitor to Perugia knows. He took the cream and rose marbles from the quarries hard by, and the blue-and-white enamelled ware of Messer Luca's invention and blended the two materials together in a dream of exquisite colour and fancy. In the centre of the façade, he placed a life-size figure of the Saint, raising his hand in blessing, with a troop of adoring angels in the blue heaven about him. Above he set God the Father in a glory of cherubim, the griffins that were the ancient symbols of the city on either side, and the Archangel Gabriel and the Blessed Virgin and the patron Saints of Perugia, Costanzo and Ercolano, each in a separate niche. Round the portal he carved statues of the six Franciscan Virtues—lovely maidens with classic forms and swirling draperies. Chastity with her lily, and Mercy with the child and dog at her feet. Below he placed a frieze of scenes from Bernardino's life—the Saint preaching on the piazza, while the devil escapes from the blazing pyre, the star shining on him at Aquila in the full light of day, the children whom he saved from drowning, and the visit which he paid to the island on the Lake of Thrasymene, on his last journey—stories that were fresh in every mind. And all around he hung garlands of flowers and fruit and filled up each vacant space with angel heads and soft blue sky, till the whole was complete and stood out before the eyes of men—a miracle of loveliness and a joy for ages to come. The Oratory was consecrated in 1461, and some years later a chapel in the Duomo was dedicated to S. Bernardino by the Merchants' Guild, who adorned it with paintings and *intarsia* and rich stained glass from Mechlin, in which the Saint is represented preaching to a motley



S. BERNARDINO IN GLORY, BY AGOSTINO DUCCIO

(Onatory of S. Bernardino, Perugia)



crowd of listeners. His fame had already reached these northern lands and in 1501 a Canon of Bruges whose father was a merchant of Florence, Bernardino Salviati, employed Gerard David to paint his own portrait kneeling at the feet of his patron Saint, on the wing of an altar-piece which is now in the National Gallery.

During fifty or sixty years after Bernardino's canonization, all the great Umbrian masters were busy painting frescoes and altar-pieces for the churches immediately connected with him—S. Francesco del Monte, the convent on the heights among the cypress groves, where he always lodged, and S. Francesco del Prato, which belonged to the Conventuali who were proud to claim him as a Brother Minor, and where he loved to hear the sound of his favourite bell, Viola. To-day these churches have lost their treasures, the paintings by Perugino, Pintoricchio and Raphael are gone, and only a few are still to be found in the Pinacoteca of Perugia. First of all we have the processional banner painted in 1465 by Bonfigli for the Confraternity of S. Bernardino. Here Christ appears in glory attended by angels crowned with roses and playing musical instruments, while Bernardino, gazing upwards, intercedes for the citizens who are seen below assisting at the ceremony of blessing the candles, in front of the newly consecrated Oratory, and of the Convent of S. Francesco.

The unique series of *tempera* paintings representing the Miracles of S. Bernardino, painted by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo in 1473, were formerly in the sacristy of S. Francesco and may originally have been attached to Bonfigli's banner. Their authorship has long been the subject of controversy, but there seems little doubt that six of the panels are the work of Fiorenzo and that the two last were painted by one of his scholars or imitators.¹ The subject of each little picture is different.

¹ C. Ricci, "Pintoricchio," 5; A. Venturi in "l'Arte," XIV, 53-67.

In one the Saint rescues a drowning girl, in another he heals a blind brother, here he brings a boy gored by a bull to life again, there he raises a youth who has been killed by a fall, or sets an innocent prisoner free. But in all alike we find the same rich costumes and glowing colours, the same splendid porticoes and marble colonnades, Roman arches and park-like backgrounds, the same trees touched with gold and rocks piled one upon another. The painter was evidently fascinated by the stirring life about him, by the wonder and beauty of the world, the loveliness of the Umbrian landscape, and the glories of classical architecture, and lost no opportunity of bringing these delightful things into his pictures. The lovely golden-haired girl sitting on the floor, by the well from which she has just been rescued, the elegant youths with long slender limbs and red hose, and dainty caps set on their fair locks, who stand idly by, with hands on their hips and greyhounds at their side, the richly clad spectators in fur and brocade, looking on at the good Saint's works of mercy with mingled surprise and curiosity—these are the forms which he loves to paint and expects us to admire. And we are grateful to him for telling his story in this simple and child-like fashion and for giving us a glimpse of that picturesque old world framed in so romantic a setting.

Pietro Perugino—the most illustrious of all Fiorenzo's scholars—may have helped his master in some of these panels, and in after years often painted S. Bernardino in those altar-pieces which enjoyed so wide a popularity. The best of these now remaining in Perugia is a banner which he executed for the Confraternità della Giustizia, an old society connected with the Church of S. Bernardino. It is a characteristic work, with the clear golden skies, soft blue hills and slender pines, which the painter loved so well and was never tired of repeating. The Madonna is there, serene and fair, throned on the violet

clouds of sunset, with angels singing and dancing at her side and Francis and Bernardino kneeling on the grass at her feet, with the same clasped hands and upturned faces. In the background are the city Priors with a crowd of women and penitents on their knees, and a view of Perugia, with as many towers as San Gimignano has to-day, and the Tiber winding in the valley below.

Perugino's followers and contemporaries filled the parish churches and village shrines of the whole district with paintings containing figures of the Saint. Here we can only mention two, the altar-piece which Luca Signorelli painted for the Franciscan church at Città di Castello, and the frescoes with which Tiberio d'Assisi adorned the "Cappella delle Rose" at S. Maria degli Angeli at Assisi, that shrine sacred to S. Francis, which Bernardino often visited in his lifetime and where he came on his last journey to pray at the great Founder's tomb. It was left to another of Perugino's assistants, the deaf, ill-favoured little man, Bernardino di Betto, called Pintoricchio and Sordicchio in turn by his comrades, to paint the story of S. Bernardino's life in Rome. A pitiful figure altogether, born of poor parents, ill-treated and neglected by an unkind wife, Pintoricchio lived to attain high renown, and was employed on vast works by Popes and Cardinals. "As Messer Pietro stood the first in his art," writes Matarazzo, the chronicler of Perugia, "so this man was second, and had no other equal in the whole of God's world."¹ One of Pintoricchio's first works, painted in 1474, when he was barely twenty, a Presentation in the parish church of Torre d'Andrea, near Assisi, is remarkable for the prominent figure of S. Bernardino which it contains. Six years afterwards he accompanied Perugino to Rome and was employed on the frescoes of the Sixtine Chapel. Here, about the year 1483, he fell in

¹ F. Matarazzo, "Cronaca di Perugia".

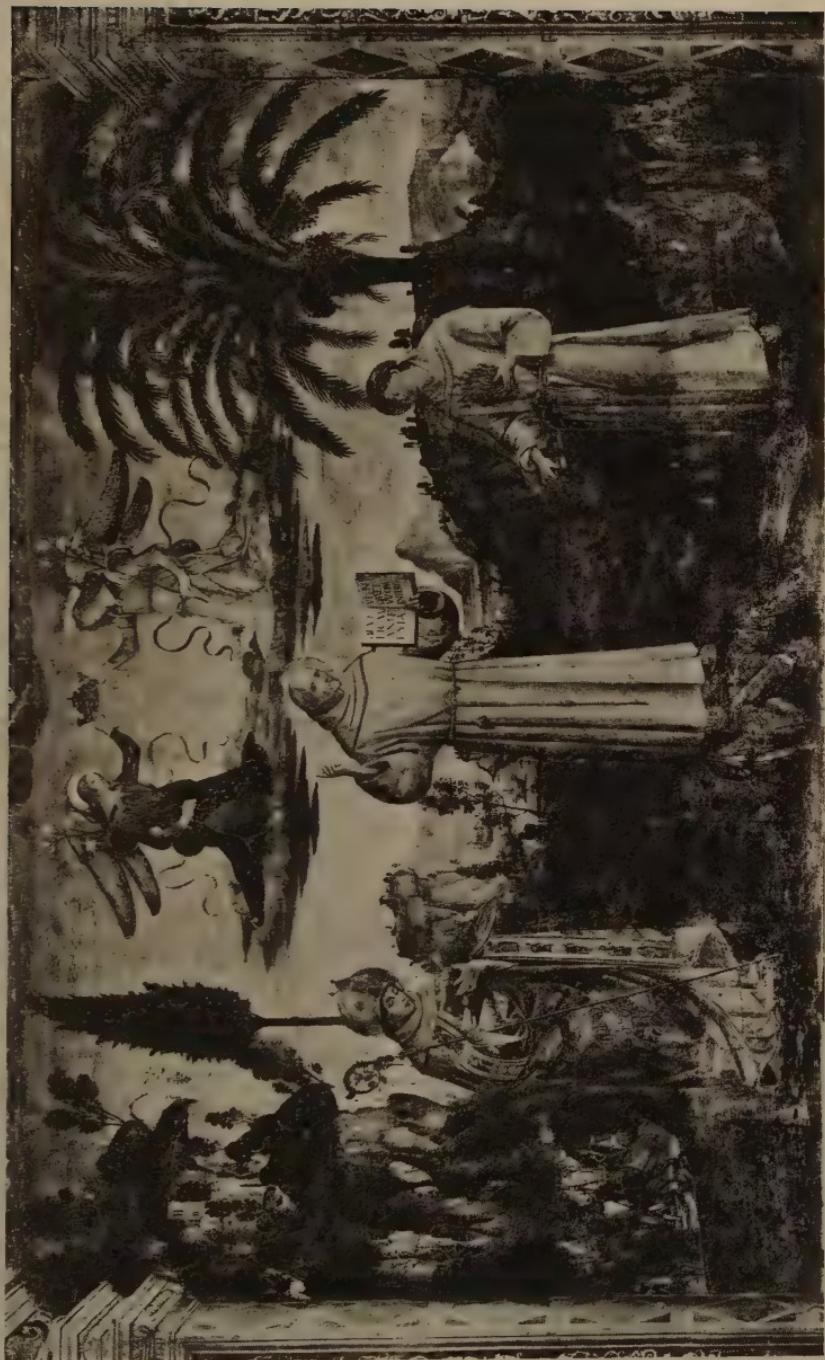
with a Papal Advocate of Umbrian birth, Niccolò Bufalini for whose family he had already painted an altar-piece up at Città di Castello. In his lifetime S. Bernardino had reconciled the Bufalini with their hereditary foes, the Baglioni at Perugia, and in gratitude for this act of charity, Messer Niccolò proposed to dedicate a chapel in the church of Aracoeli on the Capitol hill, and employ Pintoricchio to adorn it with frescoes of the Saint's life.

This church, originally built by Gregory the Great on the spot where Augustus raised an altar to the unknown God, whose coming was foretold by the Sibyl, had been given to the Franciscans in the thirteenth century by Innocent IV, and handed over to the Osservanti by Pope Eugenius IV, a year before the death of Bernardino. It was closely associated with the Saint, who had probably often preached there, and on the day of his canonization over 5000 Osservanti friars, assembled from all parts of Italy, marched in procession from the convent doors to S. Peter's. On the walls of this church, hallowed by the proudest traditions of ancient Rome and the earliest triumphs of the Christian faith, Pintoricchio now painted the eventful story of Bernardino's life. The Bufalini chapel was small and dark, but the painter covered vaulted roof and walls with a wealth of ornament, pilasters, animals, peacocks, garlands of flowers, candelabra, and genii, and transformed the whole into a shrine glowing with warmth and colour. A medallion with the Sacred Name in gold letters on a blue ground, occupies the centre of the vaulted roof, and four scenes from the Saint's life are painted on the walls. On the right we see him kneeling at the feet of a Franciscan friar to receive the habit of the Order, under a colonnade bearing a shield with the Bufalini arms. His lay clothes lie in a heap on the ground, together with a book and a golden casket, and a group of friars are

witnesses of his act. On the same wall is a fresco of S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and, under the window which divides the two subjects, an old Brother Minor is seen telling the story of Bernardino's wonderful life to a group of listeners, religious and secular, whose amazement appears in their faces and gestures, while in the background we see the Saint kneeling in prayer by the convent walls. On the upper part of the opposite wall, we have a picture of Bernardino's life in the wilderness. In one of his sermons he told his hearers how, in his resolve to forsake the world, he bought a Bible and a thick camel's hair cloak, and retired to a hermitage outside the city walls, where he slept on the ground, and lived on herbs and water from the brook. (Cf. above, pp. 92-3.) The painter has represented this episode of his life exactly. The young man is seen with his face half-hidden by his long fair hair, and a loose white mantle covering his limbs, reading a red and gold book attentively. He stands in a grove of trees where hyacinths, anemones, and primroses grow on a rocky bank, and a rabbit browses the grass by the running stream, while in the background are the bare red hills of the country round Siena. A crowd of old companions and friends have followed beyond the city gates, and watch him with mingled feelings. One richly-clad youth in red doublet and blue hose, wearing a dagger in his girdle, points out the Saint to an old man, in green cloak and turban, with a contemptuous gesture, and the women in the group look compassionately at this young man who has left all to follow Christ. Under this lunette is a fresco of the Saint's funeral, one of Pintoricchio's noblest and most harmonious compositions. The scene is laid in a spacious piazza, surrounded with houses and loggias, and a broad flight of steps leads up to a temple, from which a procession of friars is seen advancing towards the bier on which the dead Saint lies. Four brothers bend sorrowfully over the

still, white face and quietly folded hands, and the sick and suffering whom he loved press round the bier ; the lame and blind come as of old to seek healing, a mother lifts up her child to be cured, and others, weeping as they go, recall the tale of his endless compassion. Among the spectators in the foreground we recognize several members of the Bufalini family, Niccolò himself, a fine-looking, white-haired man in a gold brocade robe with broad ermine sleeves, his sons and daughters elegantly dressed, and wearing gold chains and rings on their fingers. In front of the bier two little children are seen dancing, in happy unconsciousness of death and sorrow, while, the youngest of all, a babe in swaddling bands, slumbers peacefully in a cradle on the ground. Under the open loggia and on the steps of the piazza, different episodes of the Saint's life are represented—the miracle which he wrought on the boy who was gored by a bull at Prato, the girl out of whom he cast seven devils—and, dimly seen above the blue hills, we catch a glimpse of the blessed soul being carried heavenwards by angel hands.

Last of all, on the wall over the altar at one end of the chapel, Pintoricchio has painted his great fresco of the Glorification of S. Bernardino. In the upper part, Christ, the Judge and Redeemer, is seen throned in the heavens, encircled by a *mand rla* of cherub-heads, and two angels with flower-like faces and rainbow wings hold a crown over the head of the Saint who, clad in his grey habit, stands on a grassy mound, lifting his hand in blessing. Under a spreading palm-tree on his right is S. Anthony, his whole being on fire with divine love, while, on the other side, under a tall cypress, S. Louis of Toulouse bends his mitred head in lowly adoration. The rocky crags in the background recall the home of the Bufalini at Città di Castello, and the Saint is seen, crucifix in hand, parting the combatants of the rival houses, who rush forward with drawn swords.



GLORIFICATION OF S. BERNARDINO, BY PINTORICCHIO
(*S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome*)

In the valley below, Bernardino appears again, preaching to a vast multitude, while the flames leap up from the bonfire at his side; and far away in the distance, we see the mountains of Umbria and the blue waters of Thrasymercene.

All Bernardino's doctrine and practice, the toils and sorrows of a life freely laid down in the service of man, the message of peace that was his abiding legacy to the rude mediaeval world, all these are gathered up in this fresco which the Umbrian master painted in the dim chapel of Aracoeli. There, enshrined in golden art, the memory of S. Bernardino lives in the heart of the Eternal City, and bears unchanging witness to the might of love and sacrifice and the power of a great idea.¹

¹ At Bologna S. Bernardino has been less fortunate. A beautiful chapel was built to his memory in the latter part of the xvth century at the Western End of the North side of the church of S. Francesco. From this, his own chapel, S. Bernardino has now been ousted, and S. Anthony of Padua has taken his place (A.G.F.H.).

APPENDIX I.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY BIOGRAPHIES OF S. BERNARDINO.

A CONSIDERABLE number of Lives of S. Bernardino were written within a comparatively short time after his death. Of these, four stand out as being of the first importance.

1. The Life by the humanist Barnabas of Siena (printed AA. SS. Maii, IV, 739 ff.) which was completed by April, 1445, and dedicated to Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily. Barnabas is not very well informed about the Saint's earlier years, but is fairly accurate about his movements in North Italy in 1418-19, after which he becomes very vague.

2. The Life by Leonardo Benvoglienti of Siena (printed in A.B. XXI, 58 ff.) is practically confined to a narrative of Bernardino's doings up to his entrance into Religion. It was based on careful inquiries made by Leonardo in Siena at the request of John of Capistrano, and intended as a foundation for the biography which the latter himself composed (A.B. XXI, 56). Leonardo tells us (A.B. XXI, 66) that he had heard Bernardino preach at Siena on Bernardino's birthday and quotes from memory the passage in "Pred. Volg." II, 240, where the Saint refers to his birthday and his entrance into Religion. Leonardo's work was finished by 8 May, 1446, the date of the letter to John of Capistrano prefixed to it.

3. The Life by the celebrated humanist Maffeo Vegio of Lodi, an official at the Curia under Martin V and Eugenius IV who immortalized himself by adding a thirteenth book to the "*Æneid*". Maffeo is often able to draw on his personal recollections of Bernardino. This "Life" was written in 1453 and is printed in AA. SS. (t. cit.).

4. The anonymous Life published in A.B., XXV, 304 ff. (1906) from a fifteenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and published independently in the same year by F. M. d'Araules (Rome). This biography, previously unknown, is of the utmost importance from the authentic information it gives concerning particular incidents in the Saint's career, information sometimes derived from Bernardino himself. The author (an Observant friar) was, at least on some occasions, among the companions who accompanied Bernardino on his journeys. He was considerably younger than the Saint, and tells us that when a boy of eight years old he was led by Bernardino's preaching to the practice of frequent confession and communion, besides attendance at other services, habits he maintained until at length he too entered Religion. He passes very shortly over Bernardino's early years and seems not to have known much about this part of his life.

Of less importance are the following :—

1. The Life by S. John of Capistrano, prefixed to the 1745 edition of S. Bernardino's works (I, xxxiv, ff.). The genuineness of this biography, which has been disputed, seems to be established by the editor of L. Benvoglienti's "Life" in A.B. XXI, 55, 56; but it is a very disappointing production as coming from one who could, had he chosen, have told us much that we shall never know concerning Bernardino's position in regard to the development of the Observant movement in the later years of his life. Capistrano incorporates into his work the narrative prepared as above stated by Benvoglienti; he dilates on the increase of the Observant friars and gives a very long account of the sermon preached by Bernardino at Aquila in 1438 (above, p. 187) but dismisses the greater part of Bernardino's life in a few jejune paragraphs. The work was written between the death of Eugenius IV (23 Feb., 1447) and Bernardino's canonization (24 May, 1450) (A.B., XXI, 56, 57).

2. The anonymous Life included in L. Surius "Vitæ Sanctorum" (see above, p. xiii). The author gives a full account of the principal incidents in Bernardino's life; but he wrote long after the Saint's death, since in c. 69 he refers to the translation of the

body in 1472 (he wrongly says 1477) and to its being enclosed in a silver sarcophagus, presumably that presented by Lewis XI in 1481 (above, p. 211).

3. A short Life printed "*ex MS. authentico Aquilano*," in AA. SS., Maii IV, 725 ff., whose author was Fr. Lodovico da Vicenza (Bernardini Aquilani "Chronica," ed. Lemmens, p. xxxi). This composition is likewise subsequent to the translation of the Saint's remains, and adds little to what the above-mentioned biographers tell us.

4. A brief, vague, and not very accurate Life (in Italian) by Vespasiano da Bisticci, a Florentine bookseller and copyist of manuscripts, a contemporary and friend of S. Bernardino's. This Life was written between 1453 and 1459: the author mentions Maffeo Vegio's life to which he refers his readers for further information; and also mentions a life by Giannozzo Manetti "*nel libro che fece contra Judæos et gentes*," which work has disappeared (see A.B., XXV, 306, n. 1). Vespasiano's life is prefixed to the "Prediche Volgari".

5. A Life in Italian written in 1450 or 1451, and in any case soon after the canonization, by Fr. Sanctes (Sante) Boncor "for the consolation of the devout souls of the most illustrious city of Venice". This Life has recently been discovered by Fr. Serafino Gaddoni and published by him in the periodical "La Verna" (Sargiano-Olmo) *ann.* IX, num. 8-12 and *ann.* X, num. 1, 2, and separately (Arezzo, 1912). (See also A.F.H., V, 99, 581). The work is a panegyric rather than a biography, and includes a minute description of the canonization ceremonies, at which its author (an Observant friar) seems to have been present. Unfortunately it adds little to what is known from other sources.

6. An anonymous Life arranged in the form of two lections for liturgical use preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena (U. IV, 1). The manuscript is of the seventeenth century and is said to be derived from "a writing contemporary with the Saint" (Lorenzo Ilari, "La Biblioteca di Siena disposta secondo le materie," pp. 516, 517). It contains however nothing which is not known from other sources. On the copy of the letter from Lewis XI of France on f. 22 of this manuscript see above, ch. II. p. 211.

7. *Æneas Sylvius*, besides the account of S. Bernardino in

the "De Viris Illustribus," prefixed to the 1745 edition of S. Bernardino's Works, gives a short account of him in the "Historia Frederici III Imperatoris," printed in Kollarium, "Anlecta Monumentorum Vindobonensia," II, 1746 (Vienna, 1762). In the same work (II, 535) are collected other passages from Æneas' writings in which S. Bernardino is spoken of.

8. A MS. Life of S. Bernardino has recently been discovered in the public library at Lüneburg, written toward the close of the xvth century by Fr. John Parcham when holding the office of *Lector Principalis* at the University of Magdeburg. A short notice of this Life will be found in A.F.H., VI. 82. It appears that there is a note in the MS. by another hand impugning the accuracy of this Life on the ground of its being inconsistent with that written by John of Capistrano.

A MS. Sermon on S. Bernardino, in all probability by John of Capistrano, existing in the university library at Breslau, has recently been published by Fr. Ferdinand Doelle in A.F.H., VI. 76 ff. It adds nothing to what is already known except a few illustrations of the Saint's patience under detraction, and of his gentleness in his government of his friars.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE DATES OF THE COMPOSITION OF S. BERNARDINO'S SERMONS.

THE course "De Pugna Spirituali" ("Opera," III, 69 ff.) is undoubtedly the earliest in date, and may possibly have been written earlier than 1412, which year marked, as we have seen (above, ch. III. p. 230), a turning-point in his preaching.

The sermon on S. Mary Magdalen ("Opera," IV, 236) belongs in style to what one might call Bernardino's early middle period, i.e. that of the "Seraphin" course; and may perhaps be dated about 1420 (see above, ch. III. p. 270).

With regard to the courses "De Christiana Religione," and "De Evangelio Æterno," we must observe:—

1. That these courses seem to have been composed or at least put into their present form *pari passu*, since there are references in each to the other: thus 29 "De Ev. Æt." is referred to in 23 "De Christ. Rel." ("Opera," I, 105); and 36 "De Christ. Rel." is referred to in the same sermon, 29 "De Ev. Æt." ("Opera," II, 167).¹

2. That sermons from both courses are utilized in the "Pred. Volg." preached at Siena in the summer of 1427: thus for instance, 55 "De Christ. Rel." and 56 "De Ev. Æt." are both used in No. 43 "Pred. Volg."; the framework of No. 6 "Pred. Volg." is founded on 29 "De Ev. Æt." and 23 "De Christ. Rel., etc., etc.

3. That at the end of the autograph manuscript of the "De Ev. Æt." in the Chigi Library at Rome we find the following statement (published in M.F., V, 96): *Ego Fr. Bernardinus de Senis ord. minorum humilis servus domini mei Jesu composui hec opera et an. salutis hum. 1427 manu propria scribere incepit*

¹ In this latter reference 36 is misprinted 46.

hunc librum, et finivi ann. 1428 et mens. quinto (?) ad consolationem et salutem animar. nostrar. in venerabili conventu Senarum.

Whence we may assign these courses to the years 1427-8; and Bernardino must have been actually at work on them while preaching at Siena in the former year.

The ninth of the sermons styled "Eximii" ("De præparatione Sacramenti," "Opera," IV, 50), belongs to the "De Ev. Æt.," as appears from references in it to other sermons of that course ("Opera," IV, 52, 53).

The sixth sermon, "De Tempore" ("De fructibus eleemosynæ," "Opera," IV, 152), is earlier than 1427, since it furnishes materials for the forty-first of the Siena sermons.

The incomplete course on the Eucharist to which course Nos. 10, 11, 12 "Eximii" belong (see above, ch. III. p. 224), apparently dates from 1429-30, since Martin V's Bull *Ineffabile Sacramentum*, issued 29 May, 1429, is there quoted as having been published "lately" ("Opera," IV, 64).

The sermons "De Inspirationibus" ("Opera," III, 119 ff.), are subsequent to 5 November, 1439, as appears by an allusion to the Anti-pope, Felix V ("Opera," III, 132), who was elected on that date, and did not abdicate until after Bernardino's death. Moreover, Bernardino alludes to his boyhood "fifty years ago" ("Opera," III, 134).

The sermons on the Beatitudes ("Opera," III, 18 ff.) are later than those "De Inspirationibus," for the sermon on the sixth Beatitude has a reference to the third "De Insp." ("Opera," III, 52); and these sermons were sent by Bernardino in April, 1443 (while he was at Padua), to Pietro Tommasi, a Venetian doctor who had cured him of an illness (Wadding, XI, 165), when he had last been in Venice. The date of this visit to Venice is uncertain. If it took place in 1443 as stated by Amadio (ed. 1854, p. 310) on the authority of Leonardo Sanuto, it must obviously have occurred between Bernardino's departure from Milan and his arrival in Padua to preach during Lent, which began on 6 March. There would hardly have been time for a visit to Venice in this interval (above, pp. 195-6), and besides, Albert of Sarteano in his letters to the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Ferrara explaining why Bernardino could not preach at Milan in

Lent, makes no mention of any engagement for him to preach in Venice (see above, ch. II, p. 197).

The sermons for Whit-Monday and Tuesday (7 and 8 "Eximii," "Opera," IV, 44, 47) are later than those on the Beatitudes, for the second of these sermons has (p. 48) a reference to the first, and the first a reference to the sermon on the first Beatitude (p. 45).

No. 25, "Extraordinarii" ("De triplici animæ statu," "Opera," III, 413), has on p. 419 a reference to the "Tractatus de Inspirationibus artic. I" (*sic*) which corresponds with No. 5 "De Insp.," art. 2.

No. 5, "De Tempore" ("De sacratissima oratione," "Opera," IV, 147), has a reference on p. 148 to No. 6 "De Christ. Rel.". The sermon is incomplete, part of Art. 1, and the whole of Art. 3 being missing. The copyist's statement (p. 151) that the composition of the sermon was interrupted by the Saint's death seems unlikely, in view of the circumstances of the close of his life as related above.

No. 8, "De Tempore" ("Quare prospera dentur justis," "Opera," IV, 164) has a reference (p. 166) to the "De Christ. Rel.". It must, moreover, seemingly be subsequent to 1429, since (on the same page) Bernardino speaks of his personal experience of the saintly character of [Galeotto] Roberto, Lord of Rimini, whose rule lasted from 1429 till 1432.

No. 13, "De Tempore" ("De amore inter Deum et animam," "Opera," IV, 181), has references (pp. 183, 185) to the "De Ev. Aet." ; and No. 16, "De Tempore" ("De multiplici mendacio," "Opera," IV, 196), has on p. 196 a reference to the "De Christ. Rel.".

... No. 15, "De Tempore" ("De taciturnitate boni et mali," "Opera," IV, 193), which is word for word the same as No. 21, "Extraordinarii" ("Opera," III, 393), refers to the "De Christ. Rel." (p. 194); and No. 24, "Extraordinarii" ("De exercitu spirituum malignorum," "Opera," III, 407), refers to the "De Ev. Aet." (p. 408) and to the "De Christ. Rel." (p. 411).

I have been unable to trace any indications of the date of the composition of Bernardino's other sermons; except in so far as it may be inferred from their style that none of them belong either to his early or to his early middle period.

APPENDIX III

PASSAGES FROM S. BERNARDINO'S SERMONS TENDING TO SHOW THAT HE HAD SOME KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK

1. In Sermon 56, "De Ev. AEt." ("Opera," II, 368), he says, quoting Psalm XLV., *Arcum conteret et confringit arma et scuta*, i.e. peccata, *comburet igni*, pro igne, more Græcorum.

2. In Sermon 9, "De Ev. AEt." ("Opera," II, 49): *Unde subdit*, probatum terræ, *pro a terra*, *genetivus pro ablativo*, more Græcorum.

3. In Sermon 3, "De Tempore" ("De Sacrificio Abrahæ," "Opera," IV, 139): "*Filius dicitur a φίλος* [sic] *quod est amor*".

4. In Sermon 12, "Eximii" ("De SS. Eucharistiae Sacramento," "Opera," IV, 69) he notes that the Greek word for *communio* is *synaxis*.

5. In Sermon 52, "De Ev. AEt." ("Opera," II, 319) a reading of the LXX. is referred to as follows: "*Et tertia [civitas] fuit On, quæ interpretatur Solis civitas, ut ibidem [sc. Exodus I.] dicitur secundum translationem Septuaginta*".

6. In Sermon 4, "Eximii" ("In Ascensione Domini," "Opera," IV, 22), however, he gives an example of a Greek mode of expression at secondhand from Alexander of Hales, and a little farther on in the same sermon (p. 25) he refers to the Greek original of a text in Acts I. "*secundum Bedam*".

7. In Sermon I. "Extr." ("Opera," III, 324) we read: "*T est littera Graeca . . . et proferendo more Graecorum est brevius proferre quam Latine*"; and just afterwards he refers to the form of the Greek letter Σ.

Of these seven passages nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7 are prior to the Council of Florence; nos. 3, 6 are of uncertain date (see above, Appendix II).

The following passage, however, shows that his knowledge did not extend very far:—

"Observe that there is a difference between Daemon and Diabolus: for Daemon means 'knowing' and Diabolus means 'devourer'. It is derived from *dia* two, and *bolus* a mouthful; as if to say 'making two mouthfuls of a man,' viz. the soul and the body" (5, "Seraphin," "Opera," III, 168).

APPENDIX IV

UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM FR. ANDREA DE' BIGLI TO S. BERNARDINO [UNDATED]

[From the copy in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena: 15, IV, C., f. 36.]

IN Christo patri honoratissimo fratri Bernardino frater Andreas salutem. Tua caritas mihi s^epe memoriam tui nominis excitat ut nihil plus desiderem quam tecum esse, loqui, agere; nempe qui te omnia credo singulari quadam bonitate et velle et sequi dum Christo placeas, etiam si non totus proberis hominibus, quoniam ea est secundum apostolicam sententiam regula; Qui velit esse Christi servus cavendum ei esse ab humano die. Præcipue vero mihi tuam caritatem commendant Leonardus ac Barnabæus, tui in Christo filii, quos sane pulcherrimum est ac jucundissimum audire quemadmodum et bonitatem tuam laudent et dignitatem prædicent: quos ego cum non dissimili affectu diligam, ita audio ut si mihi parentem aut omnino in spiritu virum optimum commemorent. S^epe cum illis de sinceritate tua, de verbo tuo, ac de prædicationibus tuis sermo est; quæ mihi haud aliter quam sanctissimi hominis officia referunt ipse quanta possum humanitate amplector; sic communem virtutem amo, sic omnium caritatem affecto, præsertim qui Christo sunt dediti, qui mihi spiritualibus donis videantur ornati. Talem te hodie Italia accipit, talem te virtus tua exhibet. Denique et ego talem esse gratulor. Nec velim ullo pacto aliam meam opinionem existimes, neque de hac re alteri plus quam mihi credas, qui sic proposui caritatem ubicumque sit colere, pacem quoad, quin etiam ultra quam fieri possit cum omnibus servare. Quid enim amabilius animo tenere possumus? quid suavius invicem tractare? Est hæc quantum arbitror religiosorum professio quæ et nostræ con-

versationis forma esse debet. Ejus velim ante omnia brevem hanc epistolam accipias; idem tibi hi quos ante dixi communes filii probabunt, postremo omnes referent quique mecum de tua sanctitate sermonem habuisse dixerint. Ipse quoque si cupias præsens experiri, si forte digneris ore ad os mecum verba facere, intelliges nihil apud me plus valere, nihil in animo præstantius esse quam fidem existimationem tui.

Datum Senis apud religionem sancti Augustini.

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM S. BERNARDINO PRESERVED AMONG
THE RELICS AT THE CHURCH OF LA Verna,
AND PRINTED IN A.B., XXI, 78 N. 1 (referred to above,
p. 190).

REVERENDE Pater egregieque Magister, post recommendationem. Maxima cum confidentia recurro in opportunitatibus meis ad Paternitatem Vestram, tenens indubie vos iuxta posse satisfacturos votis meis. Hinc est quod cum indigeam habere opera Petri Johannis super Matthaeum et non possim ea habere nisi de conventu vestro, rogo, quantum valeo, operemini cum Patribus conventus ipsius, dignentur pro modico tempore commodare mihi opera ipsa et mittere mihi per fratrem Nulfum de Viterbio praesentis exhibitorem. Ego vidi dicta opera in libreria antequam combureretur. Sunt voluminis folii communis. Et quamquam sint Petri Johannis, sunt intitolata Nicolao de Lira, et incipit: Quattuor facies uni. Si possibile est ut habeam hoc erit mihi gratissimum, paratus, nedum ad similia, sed maiora vobis grata.

Ex loco Capriolie, die XXVII Septembris 1440
Vester frater Bernardinus de Senis
Ordinis Minorum.

INDEX.

Note.—S.B. = S. Bernardino.
M.G. = Minister-general.

- ÆNEAS Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), 137, 184, 227, 243 n., 331; his "Dialogus," 137; his account of Fr. Gabriel of Spoleto, 168 n. 1; his reminiscences of S.B., 137, 163, 352-3.
- Albenga, 112.
- Albergati, Niccolò (Cardinal), 132, 161, 171.
- Albert of Sarteano, Fr., 69, 77-9, 81, 129-32, 185, 189-92, 197-8, 302, 355; his apology for the Observants, 235 n. 3.
- Albizzeschi (family of S.B.), 83.
- Alcantarins, 82.
- Alexander IV, Pope, 12.
- Alexander VIII, Pope, 65 n. 1.
- Alexander of Alexandria, M.G., 26, 27.
- Alexandria (Piedmont), 104, 112.
- Alfieri, Fr. Henry, M.G., 57-8.
- Alfonso V (The Magnanimous) (King of Aragon), 214, 350.
- Almsgiving, indiscriminate, rebuked, 237.
- Altopascio (hospital), 51.
- Ambosso, Pietro di Giovanni, his portraits of S.B. at La Capriola, 328-9.
- Amelia, 145, 225.
- Anagni, Commission of, 12 n. 3.
- Ancona, March of, 171, 265, 341.
- Angelo Clarenco, see Clarenco, Angelo.
- Angelo degli Albizzeschi, 84 n. 3.
- Angelo of Monteleone, Fr., 55.
- Angels, worship of, 315.
- Anonymous Biographer of S.B. (in A.B. XXV), 351.
- Antichrist, predicted by Joachim, 3; by S. Vincent Ferrer and Fr. Manfred of Vercelli, 113-4; views of Zealots and Fraticelli concerning, 10, 13, 20, 40, 50; in the Apocalypse, 310, 1, 313-4.
- Antonino, S. (Bishop of Florence), 184, 186.
- Antony (Augustinian Friar), 154.
- Antony of Massa, M.G., 65, 67.
- Antony of Padua, S., 336, 349 n.
- Antrodocco, 203.
- Apocalypse, S.B.'s Commentary on, see Bernardino of Siena, S., Works.
- Apologetics, S.B.'s sermons on, 247-56.
- Apologues, S.B.'s use of, 89, 289.
- "Apostles" (sect), 51.
- Aquila, 161, 177 n. 2, 187, 203-14; tomb of S.B. at, 211-2.
- Araceli, S. Maria in (church and convent at Rome), 166, 216, 346; Bufalini chapel at, 346-9.
- Arcelli, Filippo, 120.
- Arcevia, 171, 225-6.
- Arezzo, 138-40, 169, 334-5.
- Arles, Cardinal of (Louis d'Allemand), 181.
- Arpino, 187.
- Asceticism, excessive, deprecated, 94, 265.
- Asciano, 137, 201.
- Assisi, 61, 65-7, 140, 171, 187, 189-90, 202, 270; S. Maria degli Angeli, 345.
- Ass, ridden by S.B., 203-4, 212.
- Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, 231 n. 1.
- Astre, Fr. William, 27.
- "Attrition," explained by S.B., 320.
- Augustin, S., 248, 253, 271, 305.
- Augustinians, 92, 125, 138, 143 n. 3, 150, 160, 208.
- Autographs of S.B., 169, 170, 187-8, 190, 225, 354.
- Avignon, 22, 29.
- Avogadro (family), 192.
- Avveduti (family of S.B.'s mother), 83, 145.
- Ayto (or Ayton) II, King of Armenia, 31.
- BANDINELLI, Orazio, 324-5.
- Barbaro, Francesco, 129.
- Barcelona, 154.
- Barnabas, Fr. (companion of S.B.), 358.
- Barnabas of Siena: at Assisi with S.B., 140; his Life of S.B., 350.
- Bartholomew (Augustinian Friar), 163 n. 1, 181.

Bartolommea (Aunt of S.B.), 92.
 Basel, Council of, 69-71, 73 n. 1, 175-6,
 181-4, 187.
 Bathing, discouraged by S.B., 296.
Battaglia dei sassi (at Perugia),
 abolished by S.B., 141.
 Battista da Bologna, Fr., 190.
 Battista of Padua (painter), 136.
 Beatitudes, S.B.'s sermons on the, 268.
 Beauharnais, Eugène, 336.
 Bede, the Venerable, 305, 308-9.
 Beguins, sect of, 15 n. 1, 37.
 Behemoth, 240.
 Belcaro (villa near Siena), 332.
 Bellini, Giovanni, 335.
 Bellinzona, 119.
 Belluno, 130, 335.
 Benaglio, Francesco, 338.
 Benedetto da Maiano, 334.
 Benedetto di Maestro Bartolomeo
 (reporter of the "Prediche Vol-
 gari"), 280.
 Benedict, S., 3.
 Benedict XIII, Anti-pope, 58.
 Benedict XII, Pope, 65 n. 1.
 Bentivegna of Gubbio, Fr., 51.
 Benvoglienti, Leonardo: his Life of
 S.B., 83 n. 1, 350.
 Benzoni, Giorgio de' (Lord of Crema),
 123.
 Bergamo, 117-8, 125-6, 336-7.
 Berlin gallery, 341.
 Bernard, S., 84; his lament for his
 brother imitated by S.B., 193 n. 3.
 Bernardino of Siena, S.
 I. Life. Birth, parentage and early
 years, 83-5; studies under Onofrio
 and Giovanni da Spoleto, 85-6;
 studies theology and canon law,
 86; defends himself against in-
 decent advances, 87; influence of
 his cousin Tobia, *ib.*; the Madonna
 at Porta Camollia, 88-9; beginning
 of his spiritual life, 89; joins Con-
 fraternity of the Madonna, 89-90;
 nurses the sick during the plague,
 91; illness, 92; nurses his aunt
 Bartolommea, *ib.*; resolves "to live
 like an angel," 92-4; determines
 to join the Friars Minor, 94-5; re-
 nounces his fortune, 95-6; assumes
 Franciscan habit, 96; joins Ob-
 servants, 97; life at Il Colomboia,
 97-8; profession, ordination, com-
 mission to preach, 98; beginning
 of his preaching, 99-101; founds
 convent of La Capriola, 102; visit
 to S. Vincent Ferrer, 104-5; visit
 to Ferrara, 105; preaches in Siena
 cathedral and at Camaiore, 105-6;
 illness at La Capriola, and Lenten
 sermons (1416) at S. Francesco,

Siena, 106; first preaching at
 Bologna and visit to Ferrara (1417),
 106-7; friendship with S. John of
 Capistrano, 65 n. 1, 107-8; de-
 parture for Lombardy, 108; en-
 counter with Vodadeo at Genoa,
 108-9; preaches at Milan, 109;
 first Lenten course in Milan cathe-
 dral (1418), 109; S.B. and Filippo
 Maria Visconti, 109-11; preaches
 at Chapter-general at Mantua, and
 in Piedmont and Liguria, 112; at
 Pavia, 113; beginning of contro-
 versy with Fr. Manfred, 113-4;
 second Lenten course at Milan
 (1419), 116-7; preaching at Berga-
 mo, 117-8; at Como and the
 Lakes, 119, 338; at Treviglio, 119;
 at Cremona and Piacenza (1420),
 120; S.B. at the translation of P.
 Petroni's body at Siena, *ib.*; his
 preaching at Mantua (1421), 121-2,
 339; appointed Vicar over Tuscan
 and Umbrian Observants, 122;
 preaches at Crema, 122-4; first
 visit to Venice (1422), 124-5;
 founds convent at Bergamo, 125-6;
 preaches at Verona (1422-3) and at
 Padua (Lent, 1423), 126, 224 n. 1;
 his departure from Padua, 127-8;
 preaches at Vicenza and Treviso,
 128-9; is joined by A. of Sarzana,
 129-30; pacifies Belluno, 130;
 visits to Modena and Ferrara, 130-
 1; confutes Fr. Christopher at
 Bologna (1424), 131-2; preaches
 in Lent at Florence, 132; returns
 to Bologna, 132-3; preaches at
 Siena (June, 1424), 133; at Rome,
 134, 294; at Volterra, 134; at
 Prato, Florence, and Siena (1425),
 135-7; expelled from Arezzo, 138-
 9; returns there (1428) and destroys
 Fonte Tenta, 139-40; summoned
 to Milan, 140; visits Assisi and
 Perugia (1425), 140-2; visits Todi,
 Viterbo, Rome, and Rieti (1426),
 143-4; Bull addressed to him by
 Martin V, 63 n. 1; preaches at
 Orvieto and Gubbio (1427), 144-5;
 goes to Rome to answer charge of
 heresy, 146-9; audience with
 Martin V, 149; his trial and ac-
 quittal, 160-3; refuses bishropic
 of Siena, 164-7; preaches at Siena,
 167, 280 ff.; attacked by Gabriel of
 Spoleto, 167-8; preaches at Lucca,
 169; stays at S. Francesco, Siena
 (1427-8), 169; visits Venice (1429),
ib.; his letter to F. Marchi, 170;
 visits to Rome, Fabriano, Arcevia,
 and Siena, and beginning of friend-

ship with J. dalla Marca, 171; preaches again in Siena cathedral, *ib.*; refuses See of Ferrara (1431), *ib.*; sermons at Forlì, 172; returns to Siena to refute calumnies, 173; affair of the picture at Bologna and renewed proceedings for heresy, 173-5; second visit to Como, 175; friendship with Emperor Sigismund (1432-3), 176-7; preaches at S. Francesco, Siena (1434), 178; and at Gubbio (1435), *ib.*; refuses See of Urbino, 179; opposes J. of Capistrano in the matter of the French Observants, 70-1; visits Liguria (1436), 179; and Corneto, 180; appointed Commissary at Pavia of M.G., *ib.*; proceedings against S.B. in Council of Basel, 180-3; appointed Vicar-general over Italian Observants (1438), 71, 186; his acts in that capacity, 72-3; visits to Perugia and the Abruzzi, 187; preaches before René of Anjou at Aquila, *ib.*; attends Council of Ferrara (1438), 187; goes to Florence, *ib.*; letter of apology for friars of La Capriola, 187-8; at La Capriola, Milan, and Rome (1439-40), 189; preaches at Rome in honour of S. Francis, *ib.*; promotes study among Observants, 73-4; deprives ignorant friars of power to hear confessions, 74-5; opposition to this measure, 75; S.B. resists formal severance of Observants from Conventuals, *ib.*; empowered to appoint co-adjutor, 76; "reforms" convents in Tuscany, *ib.*; preaches at Perugia (1441), 190; meeting with A. of Sarteano at Cortona, 190-1; preaches at Brescia, 191-2; appointed Commissary of A. of Sarteano at La Capriola, 192-3; his lament for Fr. Vincent, 193-4; last visit to Milan, 195-6; affair of Amedeo de Landis, 196-7; last visit to Padua, 197-8; S.B.'s alleged prediction at Ferrara, 198; ordered to proclaim crusading indulgences and promote pacification of Princes of Italy, 199; preaches at Massa (Lent, 1444), 199-200; farewell to Siena, 200; starts on his last journey, 201; account of the journey, 201-5; his last sermon, 203; death, 206; funeral, 207-11; story of his tomb, 211-2; his effects, 212-3; memorial services, 213; canonization, 214-6, 346; made co-patron of Venice,

125; of Aquila, 204; of Siena, 216; process for declaring him a Doctor of the Church, 216-7.

II. Character. Personal appearance, 87, 101, 133, 143, 328; humility, 267-8, 272 n., 299-300; natural purity, 87; natural charm, 6, 90, 97, 195; sensitive temperament, 101, 298; tact, 102; tenderness and simplicity, 103, 298; obedience, 194 n. 1; character as a Superior, 103; commonsense, 236 ff., 262; manual skill, 84, 102; love of children, 300; patience in persecution, 160; knowledge of the world, 256, 258, 298-9; learning, 86, 232-6; dislike of official rank, 81; interest in every department of human life, 241, 247, 289, 291, 297-8; love of poetry, 86; love of art, 270, 284, 326-7; love of Siena, 85.

III. Works.

Apocalypse, Commentary on, 304 ff.
"Daily Aspirations to God," 321.
"Dialogus de Obedientia," 323.
"Dialogus intra Religionem et Mundum," 322.

"Itinerarium Anni," 324-5.

Sermons:

Classification and list of, 223-6; purpose of the "Written" sermons, 227, 229; dates of their composition, 354; their use by other preachers, 229, 302-3; their structure, 228; use of Scripture in them, 230-2. See also Preaching.
"Tractatus Confessionis," 315-7.
"Tractatus de præceptis regulæ Fratrum Minorum," 321.
"Tractatus de speculo peccatorum, de contemptu mundi," 321.

Bethlehem, 179.

Bettolla, Guido, 87.

Béziers, 21, 26, 27, 29.

Bigli, Fr. Andrea de'; his work *De institutionibus, etc.* Fr. Bernardini, 106, 132 n. 2; and Ch. II. *passim*; reminiscences of S.B., 107; references to reporters of S.B.'s sermons, 275-6; his "Admonition" to Fr. Manfred, 114-6; his "Letter to Fr. Antony," 154-5; reconciliation with S.B. and death, 155; his character, 150; his letter to S.B., 358-9; stories told by him against S.B., 152-4.

Bindo degli Avveduti, 83-4.

Boccheggiano (valley), 93.

Bologna, 41, 70, 107, 130-3, 173; chapel of S.B. transferred to S. Antony of Padua, 349 n.

Bologna, Chapter-general of Observants at, 69.
 Bonagrazia, Fr., of Bergamo, 39, 41.
 Bonaventura, S., 13, 14 n. 1, 20, 212, 217, 232, 255, 271.
 Boncor, Fr. Sante or Sanctes, his Life of S.B., 352.
 Bonello, Fr. Giovanni Pozzo, 196.
 Bonfigli, 343.
 Boniface VIII, Pope, 21, 31 n. 4.
 Boniface IX, Pope, 40 n. 5, 59, 90.
 Bonsignori (Francesco da Verona), 338-40.
 "Book of Hours," Bona Sforza's, 338.
 Borgo S. Sepolcro, 327.
 Borso d'Este, 197.
 Boscaglia, S. Croce di (Convent), 117.
 Bosnia, 58, 69, 94.
 Brentella (river), 127.
 Brescia, 124, 191-2, 337.
 Brigit of Sweden, S., 188, 213.
 Brippi, Giuseppe de', 196, 215.
 Brugliano, S. Bartolomeo di (hermitage), 53-4, 56, 59.
 Bruni, Lionardo, 135 n. 1.
 Bufalini, Niccold, 346.
 Bulls and Decretals referred to :—
Ad conditorem (John XXII), 9, 40, 41, 67.
Amabiles fructus (Martin V), 40 n. 5.
Cum inter nonnullos (John XXII), 39, 41.
Exiit qui seminat (Nicholas III), 15-7, 23, 37, 38, 40, 48, 66-7, 73.
Exivi de paradiso (Clement V), 23-6, 66-7, 73.
Fidei catholicae fundamento (Clement V), 23.
Gloriosam ecclesiam (John XXII), 36.
Ineffabile sacramentum (Martin V), 355.
Ordinem vestrum (Innocent IV), 9, 15-7, 40.
Pia mater ecclesia (Eugenius IV), 199.
Quia nonnunquam (John XXII), 38.
Quia quorundam (John XXII), 41.
Quo elongati (Gregory IX), 7-9, 15-7.
Quorundam exigit (John XXII), 28, 38.
Sacrae vestrae religionis (Boniface IX), 59 n. 2, 60.
Sancta Romana atque universalis ecclesia (John XXII), 31 n. 4, 34.
Septimo jam pleno saeculo (Pius X), 82.
 Bull excusing S.B. (Eugenius IV), 174.

Bulls and Decretals referred to (*cont.*)—
 Bull excusing S.B. (Nicholas V), 196 n. 1, 215.
 Bull of exemption for Zealots (Clement V), 22-3.
Busco, S. Maria de (Convent at Florence), 105.
 Busti, B. Bernardino de', 175.
 Buttinone, Bernardino, 336.
CALIXTUS III, Pope, 259 n. 3.
 Camaiore, 105-6.
 Camollia, Porta, see Siena.
 Cane, Facino, 113.
 Capistrano, S. John of: name and short account of, 65 n. 1; beginning of his friendship with S.B., 107; studies theology under him, 108; defends S.B. in proceedings before Martin V, 161-2; preaches in Rome on death of S. Frances of Rome, 189; promotes canonization of S.B., 214; sleeps in his clothes at Vienna, 243 n.; his Life of S.B., 351; his sermon on S.B., 353; appointed Inquisitor, 63, 161; defends Observants against Conventuals, 65; drafts Martinian Constitutions, 67; appointed Coadjutor to W. of Casale, *ib.*; favoured by Eugenius IV, 69; supports W. of Casale in attempt to repeal decree of Council of Constance, 70-1; Commissary Apostolic over Observants, 71 n. 3; approves N. of Osimo's interpretations of the Rule, 72; Commissary for S.B. for Genoa, Milan, and Bologna, 76; Commissary over Ultramontane Observants, 77 n. 4; Vicar-general over Cismontane Observants, 80; compared with S.B., 81.
 Caprarola, 145.
 Capriola, La (hill and convent, afterwards L'Osservanza), 81, 101-4, 106, 177, 188-90, 192, 198, 200, 325, 327-9, 332.
 Capuchins, 81-2.
 Caravaggio, 119.
 Carcassonne, 21, 26.
 Carmagnola, Count of, 120, 124.
 Caroto, 338.
 Casale, 112.
 Casale, Fr. William of (M.G.), 65-7, 69-70, 72, 75, 77, 180.
 Casanova, Cardinal, 174.
 Casini, Cardinal, 161, 164, 174-5.
 Castel della Pieve, 142.
 Castelnuovo Scrivia, 113.
 Catania, 154.
 Cathari (Sect), 36, 50, 250.
 Catherine of Siena, S., 58.

- Cato (University professor), 195.
 Catturino, Fr. Pietro, 201-2.
 Cavazzola (Paolo Morando), 339.
 Celestine V, Pope, 31-2, 204.
 Celestines, 31 n. 4.
 Celestino, S. Pietro, see Celestine V.
 Cerbarolo (Convent), 51.
 Cervantes, Cardinal, 66-7.
 Cervini, Alessandro (Archbishop of Siena), 325.
 Cetona, Convent, 76.
 Ceuta, 63.
 Ceva, Henry of, 36.
 Charles V (Emperor), 211.
 Chasson, Peter, 211.
 Cherubino da Spoleto, Fr., 302.
 Chiavari, 179.
 Chios, 63.
 Christopher, Fr. (opponent of S.B.), 132 n. 1, 131, 150.
 Christopher of Monza, Fr., 116-7.
 "Cismontane Family," 80 n. 1.
 Città di Castello, 345.
 Città Ducale, 203.
 Clarenzo, Angelo, Fr., 14, 21, 241; enters the Order, 30; imprisoned, *ib.*; released, 31; mission to Armenia and return to Italy, *ib.*; driven to Greece, 32; acquitted by Inquisition, *ib.*; at Council of Vienne, 32-3; again accused and acquitted, *ib.*; acts as M.G. over Italian Zealots, *ib.*; his opinions, 34, 35; writings, 30 n. 2, 52 n. 4; death, 33; seal, *ib.*, n. 3; adherents, 43-4, 52; forms link between companions of S. Francis and Observants, 53.
 Classics, S.B.'s use of the, 234-5.
 Clement V, Pope, 22, 26, 72.
 Clement VI, Pope, 54.
 Clement VII, Anti-pope, 58.
 Clergy, how defended by S.B., 250-2; evil living of, 249, 252-3, 279, 297, 305-6; special sermons of S.B. to, 252.
 Clusone, 118.
 Colfiorito, 53.
 Colomboia, Il (Convent), 97-9.
 Colombini, B. Giovanni, 90.
 Colonna, Cardinal James, 22, 33.
 Como, 117-9, 175.
 Companions of S.B., 110 n. 3, 129, 194 n. 1.
 Companions of S. Francis, 9, 10, 30, 53.
 Condottieri and their soldiers, 297-8.
 Condulmar, Cardinal, see Eugenius IV, Pope.
 Confession and Absolution, S.B.'s teaching on, 251, 292, 315-21.
 Constance, Council of, 61-2, 66, 70-1, 173, 250.
- Constantine, Fr. (lay-brother imprisoned by S.B.), 75.
 Constantinople, Friars sent to, 76.
 Contract, Law of, S.B.'s sermons on, 256-62.
 "Contrition," explained by S.B., 320; amount of grief required in, 321-2.
 Conventuals, 2, 20, 44, 64-71; why so called, 10; their evasion of the Vow of Poverty, 39, 40 n. 4, 96. See also Observance, Strict or Regular.
 Corbara, Peter of, Anti-pope, 36, 43, 49.
 Corneto, 180.
 Corrado, Cardinal, 135, 160.
 Corsica, 58.
 Cortona, 179, 190-1.
 Crema, 122-4, 263.
 Cremona, 120.
 Cristofano degli Albizzeschi (uncle of S.B.), 84.
 Crivelli, Carlo, 341.
 Croce, Francesco della, 196.
 Cuneo, 112.
 Customs, social, noticed by S.B., 296-7.
 "DAILY Aspirations to God," see Bernardino of Siena, S., Works.
 Dante, 84, 230, 254, 257 n. 1; S. Bernardino and, 86; passages from, referred to by S.B., 193 n. 3, 232-3, 269.
 David, Gerard, picture by, in National Gallery, 343.
 "De Christiana Religione and De Evangelio Aeterno" (Sermons), 247 ff.
 Debtors, imprisoned, S.B.'s care for, 110-1, 281, 299.
 "Defensor pacis" of Marsilio of Padua, 47-8.
 "De Inspirationibus" (Sermons), 262 ff.
 Demonology, 121 n. 4, 240 n. 2.
 "De Pugna Spirituali" (Sermons), 246.
 Devil, the, in S.B.'s sermons, 152-3, 239-40.
Diabolus, etymology of, 357.
 "Dialogus de Obedientia," see Bernardino of Siena, S., Works.
 "Dialogus intra Religionem et Mundum," see Bernardino of Siena, S., Works.
 Diana (Aunt of S.B.), 83-4.
 Disciples of S.B., 302-3.
 Dolcino of Novara, 15 n. 1, 34 n. 1, 51, 52 n. 4.
 Domenico di Nanni Cambiuzzo, 294 n. 1.
 Dominicans, 12, 37, 138, 143 n. 3, 150, 160.
 Dominici, Cardinal, 105.
 Doubter, the honest, 238.
 Duccio, Agostino, 342.

- Duns Scotus, 232.
 Durindana (Roland's sword), 285.
- ELIAS, Fr. (M.G.), 10.
 "Epistola excusatoria" of A. Clareno, 30 n. 2, 33.
Eremita Angelii Clareni, 43 n. 3.
 Este, Nicholas III of (Marquis of Ferrara), 130.
 Eucharist, Sacrament of the, 251; S.B.'s sermons on the, 224, 355.
 Eugenius IV, Pope: his election, 68; friendship with S.B., *ib.*, 160, 165; and with John of Capistrano, 68-9; favours Observants, 69; appoints S.B. Vicar over Italian Observants, 71; promotes study among Observants, 74; releases them from censures, *ib.*; confers curious privilege upon them, 75; transfers Council of Ferrara to Florence, 107 n. 1, 187; sends Cardinal Albergati to Siena, 171; quashes proceedings against S.B., 174; relations with Council of Basel, 176; crowns Emperor Sigismund, 177; begins process for canonization of S.B., 214-5; death of, 215; empowers Observants to absolve for wearing trains, 246; gives convent of Araceli to Observants, 346.
- Evangelium Aeternum*: as understood by Joachim, 4, 11; by Gerard of Borgo S. Donnino, 11; by S.B., 222, 256, 307.
- FABRIANO, 171.
- Faith, hindrances to, 252-3.
 Faith, the Catholic, truth of, how established, 248-9; ignorance of, inex-
 cusable, 255.
 Farignano, Fr. Thomas (M.G.) 54-5.
 Federigo II (Duke of Urbino), 340.
 Felix V (Anti-pope), 355.
 Felix of Milan, Fr., 201.
 Feltre, 130.
 Ferrara, 105, 107, 131, 187, 198.
 Ferrara, Council of, 107 n. 1, 187.
 Ferrara, Marquis of (Lionello d' Este), 197.
 Fieschi, Cardinal, 14.
 Fiesole (Convent), 61, 108.
 Filelfo, Francesco, 235-6.
 Filettino, 187.
 Finicella (witch), 157 n. 1, 294 n. 2.
 Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, 343-4.
 Florence, 105, 107 n. 1, 108 n. 2, 115, 132, 135, 163, 167, 187-90, 192, 224-5, 235 n. 3; Hospital of S. Paolo at, 334.
 Florence, Council of, 187-9, 250.
 Foletti, 121 n. 4.
- Foligno, 59, 144, 202.
 Fonte Tenta (Arezzo), 138-40, 334-5.
 Foppa, Vincenzo, 336-7.
 Forlì, 122, 172.
 Foscari, Francesco (Doge of Venice), 197-8.
 Frances of Rome, S., 189.
 Francesco di Antonio, 328, 331-2.
 Francesco di Giorgio, 329.
 Franchini Taviani, Abbot, 324-5.
 Francis of Assisi, S., 1, 6, 13, 49, 74; 93, 97, 101, 103, 202, 250, 270-1; S.B.'s references to, 271-3, 284, 312.
 Francis of Rimini, Fr., 74-6, 79, 179.
 Fraticelli (i.e. the extreme Zealots), 44, 45, 50-2, 63-4, 171; other mean-
 ings of the name, 34 n. 1. See also
 Zealots.
 Frederick II (Emperor), 10.
 "Friars of the Family," 57 n. 2.
- GABRIEL of Spoleto (Augustinian Friar), 168.
 Gaeta, 187.
 Galeotto Roberto (Lord of Rimini), 356.
 Galgano, Fr., 95.
 Garda, Lake of, 125.
 Gardone, 192.
 Gaufridi, Raymond, Fr. (M.G.), 23, 31.
 Gaufridus, Fr., 29.
 Gavi, 122.
 Genoa, 108, 112, 179.
 Gentile of Spoleto, Fr., 54.
 Gerald Odo, Fr. (M.G.), 53.
 Gerard (brother of S. Bernard), 193 n. 3.
 Gerard of Borgo S. Donnino, Fr., 11-4, 307.
 Ghiaudaroni, Giovanni, 91, 102 n. 1.
 Ghibellines, see Party Strife.
 Giles, Brother, 141.
 Giotto, his painting of Poverty referred to by S.B., 270.
 Giovanni da Spoleto (Giovanni di Buccio), 86.
 Giovanni di M. Pedrino, Chronicle of, 172.
 Giovanni di Paolo (painter), 329.
 Giovanuccio of Bevagna, Fr., 52.
 Gonzaga, Francesco, 121.
 Gonzaga, Gian Francesco, 339-40.
 Gonzaga, Giovanni Francesco, 121.
 Gonzaga, Lodovico, 339.
 Gospel, Everlasting or Eternal, see *Evangelium Aeternum*.
 Grazie, S. Maria delle (Arezzo), 140, 334-5.
 — — (Bergamo), 126, 336.
 — — (Lugano), 338.
 — — (Mantua), 121, 339.

- Greccio (hermitage), 14.
 Greek, S.B.'s knowledge of, 188, 357.
 Gregory the Great, S., 305, 306, 346.
 Gregory IX, Pope, 1, 8.
 Gregory XI, Pope, 55.
 Grosseto, 138.
 Guarino, 129-30.
 Gubbio, 145, 178, 340.
 Guelfs, see Party Strife.
 Guidantonio (Count of Urbino), 145 n. 2.
 Guidocci, Fr. Domenico, 201.
 Guido of Montefeltro, 232.
- HALES, Fr. Alexander of**, 212, 217, 232, 255.
Haymo of Halberstadt, 305.
Heathen, S.B. on the state of the, 255.
Hell, S.B.'s defence of, 254-5.
Henry IV (Emperor), 308.
Henry V (Emperor), 308 n. 3.
Herculanus, Fr., 184.
Holy Land, the, Convents in, subjected to Observant Guardian, 71; alleged visit of S.B. to, 179-80.
Hugh of St. Victor, 305.
Hugues de Digne, Fr., 15 n. 5.
Humanists, S.B. and the, 235-6, 306-7; their attacks on the Faith, 248.
Hus, John, 249, 251 n. 1.
Hussites, 250-1, 253.
- IMAGES and pictures of the Saints**, S.B. on worship of, 156, 307.
Immaculate Conception, S.B.'s opinion concerning the, 274, 308-9.
Immorality, sexual, preached against by S.B., 295.
Infallibility, Papal, S.B.'s opinion on, 290.
Innocent IV, Pope, 9, 12, 346.
Innocent VI, Pope, 54.
Innocent VIII, Pope, 175.
Innocent XIII, Pope, 175.
Interdoco, see Antrodocco.
Intra, 119.
 "Itinerarium Anni," see Bernardino of Siena, S., Works.
Ivrea, 112 n. 3.
- JACOB**, treachery of, how defended by S.B., 253.
Jacobites, sect of the, 190-1.
Jacopo dalla Marca, Fr. (Jacobus de Marchia), 63-4, 69-70, 81, 171, 201; his "Dialogus contra Fraticellos," 44 n. 4.
Jacopone Fr. (of Todi), 233, 277 n. 1.
Jandun, John of, 47 n. 2.
Jerusalem, 179.
Jews, S.B.'s attitude toward, 295-6.
Joachim, Abbot: life and authentic works of, 2; his scheme of world-history, 2-4; attitude towards the Papacy, 4-6, 47; orthodoxy, 6; spurious works of, 6, 11, 28; his doctrine distorted by Fr. Gerard of Borgo S. Donnino, 13; S.B.'s attitude toward, 233-4, 307-8.
Joanna II (Queen of Naples), 161.
John I, King of Portugal, 63.
John XXII, Pope, his election, 27; his measures against the Zealots, 28-30, 36-8; suspends the Decretal *Exiit*, 38; his doctrine of the Poverty of Christ, 38-9; contest with the Chapter-general, 39-41; with Lewis of Bavaria, 41-3, 45-7; his relations with King Robert of Naples, 42; denounced by Michaelists and Fraticelli, 48-51.
John XXIII, Pope, 61.
John of Maubert, Fr., 80.
John of Parma (M.G.), 11 n. 1, 13, 14.
Jokes, when justified in sermons, 285.
Joseph, S., S.B.'s sermon on, 270.
Judgment, the Last, participation of the Saints in, 314.
Julian of Milan, Fr., 205-10; his letter describing S.B.'s death and funeral, 205 n. 2.
Justice, administration of, S.B. on the, 293-4.
- LADISLAS (King of Naples)**, 65 n. 1.
Lancellotti, Abbate, 226.
Landis, Amedeo de, 196-7, 214-5.
Lateran, Council of (1215), 6, 317 n. 2.
 "Legenda Trium Sociorum," quoted by S.B., 271.
Leo XIII, Pope, 82.
Leonard, Fr. (companion of John of Parma), 13, 14.
Leonard, Fr. (companion of S.B.), 358.
Leonard (de' Rossi), Fr. (M.G.), 56-7.
Leonard of Florence (Dominican Master-general), 116.
Leonine Union, Friars Minor of the, 82.
Lewis XI (King of France), 211, 352.
Lewis of Bavaria, 36, 41-3, 45-50.
Liberale, 338-9.
Liberato, Fr., 32-3.
Liguria, 112, 179.
Loans, forced and voluntary, 260-1.
Lodovico, Fr. (Guardian of La Capriola), 212.
Lodovico da Vicenza, Fr.; his life of S.B., 352.
Lorenzi, Cosimo, 135.
Lotto, Lorenzo, 337.
Loyola, S. Ignatius, 163.
Lucca, 169.
Lugano, 338.
Luini, 338.

- Lunatics, treatment of, 104, 296.
 Lyons, Council of (1274), 30.
- MADONNA, Confraternity of the, 89-90,
 120.
- Magdalen, S. Mary, sermon on, 226-7,
 270, 354.
- Maggiano, Certosa di, 120.
- Majorca, Philip Duke of, 30 n. 3, 32 n. 3.
- Malatesta, Pandolfo, 124.
- Malatesta, Paola, 121, 339.
- Malipiero, Pasquale (Doge of Venice),
 198.
- Malvenda, Fr. Andrea da, 181.
- Manetti (painter), 333.
- Manetti, Giannozzo, 241, 261, 352.
- Manetti, Giustina de', 92.
- Manetti, Ildebrando de', 92.
- Manfred (Dominican Friar), his doc-
 trines, 113; his controversy with
 S.B., 114; forbidden to preach by
 Martin V, 115; his conduct and
 adherents, 115-6; joins in the at-
 tack on S.B. in 1427, 150; burial-
 place of, *ib.*, n. 1; condemned in
 1427 (?), 167 n. 1.
- Mantegna, Andrea, 336.
- Mantua, 107, 112, 121, 339; Gonzaga
 chapel at, 339-40.
- Marca, Jacopo dalla, see Jacopo dalla
 Marca.
- Marchi, Francesco, S.B.'s letter to him,
 170.
- Marcalvaldo, Fr., 95 n. 2.
- Mariani, Fr. Bartolomeo, 201, 203, 204.
- Marsilio da Carrara, 176.
- Marsilio of Padua, 47-8, 257.
- Martin IV, Pope, 9.
- Martin V, Pope; his election, 62, 250;
 favours Observants, 62-4; enacts
 Martinian Constitutions, 65-7; re-
 sumes ownership of the goods of
 the Franciscan Order, 67; sur-
 renders to Conventuals, 68; death,
ib.; his attempt to put down Fr.
 Manfred, 115-6; cites S.B. to
 answer charge of heresy, 146; his
 interview with S.B., 149; convokes
 Council of Basel, 176. See also
 Name of Jesus.
- Martinian Constitutions, 66-70, 251 n. 2.
- Martino, Canon of Siena, 25.
- Martyrdom, how understood by S.B.,
 238, 311.
- Mary, The Blessed Virgin, S.B.'s devo-
 tion to, 88-9, 273, 326, 329; her
 function, 274.
- Massa Marittima, 83, 84, 93, 96, 199,
 200.
- Matteo di Giovanni, 332.
- Matthew of Sicily, Fr., 153-5, 162 n. 2.
- Mattia di Svetia, Maestro, 213.
- Merciful man, S.B.'s description of the,
 269.
- Messina, 154.
- Michaelists, 44-5, 48-9.
- Michael of Cesena, (M.G.), 27, 38, 41,
 43-5, 48.
- Michele da Carcano, Fr., 302.
- Milan, city of, 108-9, 116-7, 140, 169,
 176, 189, 195-7, 247, 336; Brera
 gallery at, 336, 340, 341; Poldi-
 Pezzoli collection, 340.
- Milan, See of, offered to S.B. (?), 166
 n. 3.
- Miracles: at Olivi's tomb, 15 n. 3; at
 S.B.'s tomb, 208, 210-1; power of
 working disclaimed by S.B., 121,
 198 (cf. 93), 265; attributed to
 S.B., 134-5, 146, 200, 344; S.B.'s
 defence of, 248; the Devil's dis-
 tinguished from God's, 239-40.
- Money, S.B.'s horror of, 258.
- Money-changing, held not usurious, 260.
- Montalcino, 99.
- Mont' Amiata, 97, 284, 327.
- Monte Baldo, 125.
- Montefalco, 187.
- Montefranco (Spoleto), 145-6.
- Monteprandone, Fr. James of, see
 Jacopo dalla Marca, Fr.
- Montepulciano, 76.
- Monteripido, see S. Francesco del
 Monte.
- Montivoli, Giuseppe, 212.
- Moretto, his picture of S.B. in the
 National Gallery, 337-8.
- Moro, Cristoforo (Doge of Venice),
 197-8.
- Morone, 339.
- Munich, 48.
- NAME of Jesus, S.B.'s cult of the; pos-
 sible origin of, 92; nature and pur-
 pose of, 155-8; employed to remove
 pestilence at Ferrara, 107; to
 appease party-strife, 118, 157-8;
 to cast out a hobgoblin, 122; al-
 leged abuses of, 150-4, 186; attacks
 on, 114, 131-2, 150-5, 173, 181;
 how far prohibited by Martin V,
 183-6. See also, Y.H.S.
- Name of Jesus, Festival of the, 175.
- Nanni, Jacopo, 211.
- Narbonne, 15 n. 3, 21, 26, 27, 29,
 37.
- Narni, 145.
- National Gallery, 337, 343.
- Nazareth (Convent at Piacenza), 120.
- Nera (Mother of S.B.), 83-4.
- Neri di Bicci, 335.
- Neroccio di Landi, 329.
- Nicholas III, Pope, 15, 72.
- Nicholas IV, Pope, 31.

- Nicholas V, Anti-pope, see Corbara, Peter of.
- Nicholas V, Pope, 196 n. 1, 215-6.
- Nicholas of Osimo, Fr., 72, 74-6.
- Nofrio da Sarzana (companion of S.B.), 141.
- Nolfo of Viterbo, Fr., 190, 360.
- OBEDIENCE, S.B. on the vow of, 323-4.
- Observance, Strict or Regular: beginning of the movement, 53-5; name of, 55 n. 1; Observants favoured by Gregory XI, 55; Observant Friars aid Conventuals against Fraticelli, 56-7; progress of the movement, 57-8; Portiuncula given to Observants, 61; the movement extended to France and Spain, 58; to other countries, 58, 61-2; Decree of Council of Constance respecting French Observants, 61; favoured by Martin V, 62-3; by Eugenius IV, 69; promoted by preaching of S.B., 62-3; relations between Observants and Conventuals, 64-71, 73 n. 1; temporary separation of Observants from Conventuals, 75; attempted fusion between them, 77-9; settlement effected by Eugenius IV, 79-80; progress of Observance during S.B.'s life, 80-2; S.B. on the life of an Observant Friar, 98.
- Observants, or Observant Friars, see Observance, Strict or Regular.
- Ockham, William of, 41, 232; his views of the Papacy, 48.
- Olivi, Petrus Johannis, 14, 15; his doctrine of *usus pauper*, *ib.*; his views on virginity, 18; on the duty of bishops, *ib.*; attacks S. Thomas's opinion on monastic poverty, *ib.*; his own doctrine of Poverty, 19, 20, 34, 37; his opinion of S. Bonaventura, 20; founds group of Zealots in Provence, 21; his tomb desecrated, 15 n. 3; his writings attacked by Conventuals, 23; his writings used by Zealots, 46; studied by S.B., 190, 234.
- Onofrius (schoolmaster of S.B.), 85.
- Orsini, Cardinal Giordano, 65.
- Orsini, Cardinal Napoleon, 32.
- Orvieto, 144-5.
- Orzinuovi, 336-7.
- Osservanza (Siena), church of the, see Capriola, La.
- Osservanza, convent near Bologna (S. Paolo al Monte), 173 n. 2.
- Ostiglia, 121.
- Ozias, 3.
- PACCHIA (painter), 333.
- Padua, 78-9, 107 n. 1, 126-8, 133, 179, 198, 224 n. 1, 252, 256 n. 335-6.
- Palermo, Archbishop of, 186.
- Palio (races at Verona), 126; instituted at Siena in honour of S.B., 216.
- Papacy, its authority impaired during S.B.'s life, 250.
- Parcham, Fr. John, his "Life of S.B.," 353.
- Paris, Louvre gallery of paintings at, 341.
- Paris, University of, 11, 73 n. 1.
- Party-strife, how dealt with by S.B., 157-8, 290-2.
- Paschal II, Pope, 308 n. 3.
- Passion, S.B.'s sermons on the, 228 n. 2.
- Patrazio, Giovanni Antonio, 202.
- Pauperes Eremitae Domini Celestini*, 31, 32.
- Pavia, 111 n. 1, 112-3, 336.
- Convent of S. Giacomo near, 180.
- Pecci, Bishop, 145.
- Pecham, Fr. John (Abp. of Canterbury), 322-3.
- Pecorario, see Marchi, Francesco.
- Penitence, Sacrament of, see Confession and Absolution.
- Penna (Abruzzi) Province of, 72, 187.
- Perini, Giorgio, 96.
- Perplexity, cure for, 237.
- Perreto, Fr. Antonio da, (M.G.), 98.
- Perugia, 38-9, 56, 140-2, 185, 187, 189-90, 201-2, 208 n. 1. Oratory of S.B. at, 341-2; chapel of S.B. in Cathedral, 342; Pinacoteca, 343-4; S. Francesco del Prato, 343. See also, S. Francesco del Monte.
- Perugino, Pietro, 344-5.
- Petér of Sora, Fr., 57.
- Petriuolo, Baths of, 179.
- Petroni, Pietro, 120-1, 125.
- Petrucci, Pandolfo, 327.
- Philibert of Châlons-Orange, 211.
- Pia (wife of Cristofano Albizzeschi), 84.
- Piacenza, 120.
- Piave, Valley of the, 130.
- Piediluco, 202.
- Piedmont, visit of S.B. to, 112.
- Pietro Alessandrino, S., 216.
- Pietro degli Oriuoli, 332-3.
- Pietro Tommasi, 355.
- Pietro da Travanda, Fr., 201.
- Pintoricchio (Bernardino di Betto), 345-9.
- Piperno, 187.
- Pistoia, 325.
- Pitigliano (Arezzo), 138.
- Pius II, Pope, see *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*.

- Pius IX, Pope, 216.
 Pius X, Pope, 82.
 Poggio (Bracciolini), 77 n. 2, 78, 184;
 his attitude to S.B., 235 n. 3.
 Porano, 145.
 Portello, 127.
 Portiuncula, 1, 53, 61, 72 n. 1.
 Pouget, Bertrand du, Cardinal, 42.
 Poverty, Involuntary, S.B. on, 269.
 Poverty, Voluntary, 7, 16-17, 23-4;
 nature of, 268, 270; Dante's descrip-
 tion of, 233; S.B.'s eulogy of,
 268; see also Olivi, Petrus Johanni-
 nis; *usus pauper (arctus)*; John
 XXII, Pope.
 Prato, 135.
 Preaching: S.B.'s views on, 218-23; re-
 form in, introduced by him, 99-101,
 229; progressive development in
 his style of, 276-9, 262-3; charac-
 teristics of his preaching, 100-1,
 236-46, 282 n. 1; specimens, 282-
 9; results of his preaching, 80-1,
 136 n. 4, 141, 259, 293-4, 301-3.
 See also, Bernardino of Siena, S.,
 Works.
Prediche volgari, Le, 225, 280 ff.
 Prediction, power of, deprecated by
 S.B., 198-9, 234, 266.
 Pride, spiritual, S.B. on, 267.
 Priors of Siena, S.B. preaches to, 281
 n. 1.
 Property, S.B. on the origin of, 256-7;
 sermons on, 257.
 Public affairs, how treated by S.B.,
 292-3.
 Pulzegli, Daniele de', 127-8, 131, 275;
 accuracy of his reporting, 275.
 Purgatory, S.B.'s defence of, 253-4.

RAHAB, 302.
 Raymond of Spoleto, Fr., 52.
 Rebuking a neighbour, S.B. on, 236-
 7.
 "Recollects," 82.
 "Reformed Observants," 82.
 Relics of S.B. sent to Duke of Milan,
 213.
 Religious life, S.B. on temptations of
 the, 262-8.
 René of Anjou, King of Sicily, 187.
 Reporters of S.B.'s sermons, 133, 275-6,
 280.
 "Restitution," S.B.'s sermons on, 261,
 318-9.
 Ricasoli, Carlo de', 235 n. 3.
 Richard of S. Victor, 305.
 Riches, right use of, 241, 268.
 Reit, 52, 144-5, 202-3.
Riformagioni di Frate Bernardino, 136
 n. 4, 259.
 Rigorism, S.B.'s alleged, 241.

 Ristori, Fr. Giovanni, 94-5, 97.
 Rivarolo, 112 n. 3.
 Rivo Torto, 53, 74.
 Robbia, Andrea della, 334.
 Robert of Anjou (King of Naples), 42,
 46.
 Roberto da Lecce, Fr., 302.
 Robertson, Revd. F. W. (of Brighton),
 264.
 Roccacontrada, see Arcevia.
 Romanino, 337.
 Rome, 134, 144, 146-9, 160-3, 171, 174,
 177, 215-6, 345.
 Rossini, Pellegrino, 327.
 Rule of S. Francis, 7, 16, 25, 72.
 Rusca, Fr. Vincenzo, 119.
 Rusconi, Fr. Antonio de', (M.G.), 78-9,
 179.

 SACCO, Catone, 113.
 "Sachsenhausen Appeal," 46.
 Salimbene, Fr., 11 n. 1, 13.
 Salvetti, Fr. Angelo de' (M.G.), 122.
 Sancia (Consort of Robert, King of
 Naples), 42 n. 2.
 S. Angelo (Convent at Milan), 62, 210.
 Sanmicheli (architect), 338.
 Sano di Pietro, 328-30.
 Sansedoni, B. Ambrogio, 216.
 Santucci, Arcangelo, 226.
 Sarteano (Sarthiano, Sartiano), Albert
 of, see Albert of Sarteano.
 Sassetta, 327-8.
 "Satisfaction," how distinguished from
 "Restitution," 319.
 Savona, 112.
 Savonarola, Fr. Girolamo, 292.
 S. Bernardino, Pass of, 119; village of,
 ib.
 Scala, S. Maria della (hospital), see
 Siena.
 Schism, the great, 58; its effect on
 Franciscan Order, ib.
 Schismatics, position of, 255-6.
 Scripture, S.B.'s use of, 230-2.
 Scurcola, La, 187.
 S. Damian (Assisi), 72 n. 1, 73.
 Securities, Government, at Florence,
 Genoa, Venice and Siena, 260-1.
 Segalelli, Gerardino, 34 n. 1, 51, 52
 n. 4.
 Seggiano, 97, 100.
 Sentimentality in religion, warnings
 against, 266.
 "Seraphin" sermons, 274 ff.; when
 preached at Padua, 107 n. 1, 224
 n. 1, 126; at Milan, 109; at Flor-
 ence, 132, 224; possible references
 to, as composed by S.B., 279-80.
 Seria, Valley of the, 118.
 Sermons of S.B., see Preaching; Ber-
 nardino of Siena, S., Works.

- Sexes, separation of, at S.B.'s preaching, 172, 281.
- S. Francesco del Monte (Monteripido) (Convent at Perugia), 56, 74, 141.
- S. Francesco in Trastevere (Convent at Rome), 65.
- Shorthand reporting in S.B.'s time, 280 n. 1.
- Siena, 76, 85, 111, 120, 133, 135-6, 167, 169, 171, 175-8, 201, 206 n. 2, 212-3, 216, 225, 263, 280-2.
- Camollia gate, 88, 285, 326.
- Campo, Piazza del, 133, 135, 280, 331; chapel in, 333.
- Casa degli Orti, 93.
- Cathedral, 105, 171, 330, 332.
- Chapter House, 284, 330.
- Fontebranda gate, 332.
- Galleria delle Belle Arti, 329.
- Hospital of S. Maria della Scala, 89, 91, 102, 200, 327, 329.
- L'Alberino, 101.
- Mangia tower, 330-1.
- Oratory of S.B., 333.
- Osservanza, see Capriola.
- Ovile gate, 101.
- Palazzo Palmieri-Nuti, 329.
- Palazzo Pubblico, 136, 171, 281 n. 1, 330-1, 334.
- S. Domenico, 330.
- S. Giovannino, Chapel of Confraternity of, 333.
- S. Francesco (Church, Convent, and piazza), 96, 102, 106, 169, 178, 281 n. 1, 330, 333.
- S. Lucia (church), 88 n. 1.
- S. Pietro Ovile, shrine of, 332.
- Tufi gate, 93.
- Siena, Government of, examples of its appreciation of S.B., 85, 135, 174 n. 2; supplies provisions for him, 133, 178; solicits bishopric of Siena for him, 146, 164; pays fees for Bull of Exculpation, 174 n. 3; appoints S.B. ambassador to invite Eugenius IV to Petruolo, 179; employs him on diplomatic mission to Duke of Milan, 195-7; commends him to Duke of Milan, 176; to Eugenius IV, 195; promotes his canonization, 213-4.
- Siena, University of, 86, 195, 232 n. 2, 292.
- Sigismund (Emperor), 176-7.
- Signorelli, Luca, 345.
- Silvestro of Siena, Fr., 119.
- Simone di Martino, 88 n. 1.
- "Sisters of S.B.", 144.
- Sixtus IV, Pope, 175, 211.
- S. Julian (convent near Aquila), 60.
- Sodoma, 333.
- S. Onofrio, see Capriola, La.
- S. Onofrio (convent in Apulia), 60.
- Spello, 187.
- Spinello, Gaspare (Parri), 334.
- Spinola, M. Giorgio (Podestà of Siena), 195.
- "Spirit of Liberty" sect of the, 51-2; denounced by S.B., 51 n. 2.
- Spirituals, see Zealots.
- Splügen, 119.
- Spoletto, 202.
- S. Processo (convent in diocese of Chiusi), 76.
- S. Silvestro, 204.
- Stefano di Giovanni, see Sassetta.
- Stigmatization of S. Francis, S.B.'s explanation of the, 271.
- Stories:
- S.B. and his mistress, 87-8.
 - S.B. and the lewd woman, 98 n. 1.
 - The madman at La Capriola, 103-4.
 - The tradesman of Ferrara, 105.
 - The gambler carried off by devils, *ib.*
 - The novice at Fiesole, 108.
 - S.B. and the debtors at Milan, 110-1.
 - The Duke of Milan tests S.B.'s patience, 111.
 - S.B.'s vision of Tobia's death, 111.
 - Restitution of booty at Pavia, 113.
 - Conversion of Fr. Christopher of Monza, 116.
 - The "Epistle to Pergamum," 117.
 - The hobgoblin in love, 121-2.
 - The exile's return to Crema, 123.
 - The vision at Bergamo, 125-6.
 - The repentant usurer, 128.
 - The ruined craftsman, 133.
 - The sick man cured by spicery, 134.
 - The boy injured by a bull at Prato, 135.
 - The unforgiving noble, 142.
 - A disaster averted, *ib.*
 - S.B. fed by a poor woman, 146.
 - The interrupted sermon, 180.
 - S.B. averts rain by prayer, *ib.*
 - How S.B. learned Greek, 188.
 - S.B. and Cristoforo Moro, 197.
 - S.B. heals a leper, 200.
 - The schoolboys and the beam, 239.
 - The woman who slept with a devil, 240.
 - The usurer urging S.B. to preach against usury, 262.
 - The foolish hermit, 265.
 - Punishment of disobedience, 281 n. 3.
 - The innkeeper and his wine, 286.
 - A new way to learn the Lord's Prayer, 286.
 - The cheating money-changer, 288.
 - Lippotopo's Will, *ib.*
 - The miser's suicide, 298.
 - The drunken priest's blessing, 309.
 - The penitent harlot, 321.

- Stroncone, Fr. John of, 55, 60, 71 n. 2, 97.
 Sundays and festivals, S.B. on observance of, 242.
 Superstition, S.B.'s treatment of, 238-40.
 Symeon, how allegorized by Joachim, 5.
 Syndics, Apostolic, 9, 40 n. 5, 68.
- "TABLES," 136.
 Taschino, Battista di, 96.
 Terni, 145.
 Testament of S. Francis, 7, 8, 10, 16, 25.
 Thomas, S. (Aquinus), 18, 19, 50, 217, 232, 249.
 Thomas of Siena (painter), 122.
 Tiberio d'Assisi, 345.
 Ticino, Canton, 119.
 Tintoretto, 335.
 Tobia (cousin of S.B.), 87, 91-2, 106, 111, 243 n.
 Todi, 49-50; process for rebellion of, 50-2; S.B. at, 143.
 Tolto degli Albizzeschi (father of S.B.), 83-4.
 Tolmezzo, Domenico, 339.
 Tolomei, Bernardo, 90.
 Torre d'Andrea (near Assisi), 345.
 "Tractatus de præceptis regulæ fratrum minorum," see Bernardino of Siena, S. Works.
 "Tractatus de speculo peccatorum, de contemptu mundi," see Bernardino of Siena, S. Works.
 Trasimeno, Lake of, 201.
 Traversari, Ambrogio, 132 n. 3, 166.
 Treviglio, 119-20, 190.
 Treviso, 129-30, 335.
 Trinci, Paolo (Paoluccio) de', Fr., 54-60, 71 n. 2, 97, 102.
 Trinci, Trincia de', 54.
 Trompia, Val, 192.
 Turin, 112 n. 3.
 Turino di Sano (goldsmith), 136 n. 6.
- UBERTINO of Casale, 14; early career of, 21; his "Arbor Vitæ," ib., 233; at Avignon, 22; becomes leader of the Zealots, 23; pleads for separation of Zealots from Conventuals, 26; his opinion on the question of the Poverty of Christ, 37-8; his later years, 37 n. 3; his writings studied by S.B., 212.
- Ugolino, Cardinal, see Gregory IX, Pope.
 "Ultramontane Family," 80 n. 1.
 Unnatural vice, 263, 295, 315.
 Urban IV, Pope, 31 n. 4.
 Urban VI, Pope, 58.
- Urbino, 179.
 Usury, 241; S.B.'s sermons on, 257-62.
Usus pauper (arctus), 15, 18, 19, 24, 72.
 Uzziah, see Ozias.
- VALCAVRERA, 192.
 Valle, Fr. Giovanni (beginner of Strict Observance), 53-4.
 "Vanities," 172, 243-6.
 Vecchietta, Lorenzo, 329, 331.
 Vego, Maffeo, his reminiscences of S.B., 100, 109, 160, 165; his Life of S.B., 350.
 Venice, 120, 124-5, 197 n. 3, 289, 335, 355.
 Verchiano, 60.
 Verna, La, 63, 69, 190.
 Verona, 126, 129, 198, 226, 252; Convent of S.B. at, 338-9.
 Vespasiano da Bisticci, his Life of S.B., 352.
 Viareggio, 105.
 Vicenza, 126-9.
 Vienna, 243 n.
 Vienne, Council of, 22-5, 32, 38, 40.
 Vigevano, 113.
 Vigone, 112.
 Vimercati, Corradino, 176.
 Vincent, Fr. (companion of S.B.), 113, 193-5.
 Vincent Ferrer, S., 104-5, 113, 246.
 Visconti, Filippo Maria (Duke of Milan), 79, 109-12, 120, 124, 140, 152, 166 n. 3, 171, 176-7, 181-3, 189, 191, 195-7, 213.
 Visconti, Gian Galeazzo (Duke of Milan), 85, 105, 136.
 "Vita ex Surio," the, 351-2.
 "Vita S. Bernardini" (M.S. at Siena), 211, 352.
 Viterbo, 143-4, 145, 147-8, 328.
 Vivarini, Alvise, 335.
 Vodadeo, Giovanni, 108-9.
 Volterra, 134-5, 185-6.
- WALDENSES, sect of, 36, 50, 62, 250.
 Widowhood, S.B. on the state of, 242-3.
 William of Asti, Fr., 57.
 William of Saint Amour, 11, 12.
 Witchcraft, 134, 138, 156-7, 294-5.
 Woman of Samaria, S.B.'s sermons on the, 278-9.
 Wyclif, John, 249, 251 n. 1.
 Wycliffites, 62.
- Y H S (monogram and tablets): description and symbolism of, 158-9; veneration of, at Camaiore, 105-6; at Volterra, 134, 185-6; at Siena, 135-6, 186; at Perugia, 142; at Milan, 151; at Bologna, 173. See also Name of Jesus.

- ZEALOTS: their origin, 2, 6, 7; foist their writings on Joachim, 6, 10; fanaticism of, 14, 15, 17, 25; their contest with the Conventuals at the Council of Vienne, 22-5; attack Conventuals in Tuscany, 25; and in Provence, 27; persecuted by Conventuals, 26-7; adopt new-fangled habit, 27; refuse obedience to M.G., *ib.*; ordered by John XXII to submit to Conventuals, 28-9; suppressed in Provence, 29-30; tenets of Sicilian Zealots, 36; temporary coalition between Zealots and Conventuals, 39; Zealots encouraged at Neapolitan court, 42 n. 2; support Lewis of Bavaria, 46; causes of their failure to purify the Order, 53. See also, Clarenco, Angelo; Fraticelli; Joachim; Olivi; Ubertino of Casale.
- ZOPPO, Paolo, 52.

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AUTHOR

Hewell, Alan George Ferrers

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